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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. CXVI.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1895.

LONDON :
BURNS & OATES, LIMITED. J. DONOVAN, 19 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.
DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.
NEW YORK, CINCINNATI & CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

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ART. I.—CLERICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE IN
DEVON IN 1287.

BY THE BISHOP OF CLIFTON.

WHEN we wish to revive for the information of ourselves or others the life of a period long passed away, we must be grateful for any contemporary records that will tell us what the people of that period did and said and thought. Any record that throws light on the social habits of the time, on the details of domestic economy, the value of land and livestock, the rate of wages, the relations between master and servant, the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, under which they lived, the statutes and customs with regard to marriage, the dues paid to the clergy, the discipline of the Church, the regulations with regard to the keeping up of sacred edifices, the maintenance of public worship, the penalties by which ecclesiastical and civil authorities enforced their enactments—all these things make up the details of a picture of the times, and any document that supplies them helps to make that picture more complete and truthful. This is the reason why the students of history welcome so gratefully the publication of ancient chartularies, and rent-rolls, and the petty details of the journeys and daily expenses of kings, bishops, and abbots.

In this county the publication of the Episcopal Registers, which Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph is carrying out so conscientiously, throws incidentally a flood of light on many matters

[*No. 13 of Fourth Series.*]

apparently outside the episcopal rule, and when completed will enable us to form a far more accurate picture of Devon and Cornwall in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries than would have been possible without such aid.* Our knowledge of Devon in the thirteenth century chiefly depends upon the Register of Bishop Bronescombe, which commences with 1257, and carries us on to 1280, and then the Register of Bishop Quivil brings us to 1291, after which the few fragments that Prebendary Randolph has been able to collect from various ancient documents, serve to some extent to supply the loss of any register of the episcopate of Bishop Bytton.

Prebendary Randolph remarks of Bishop Bronescombe :

"It is evident that a great wave of zeal for the houses of God had swept over the whole diocese, for we find that between September, 1259, and the end of 1268, the Bishop was called upon to dedicate eighty-eight re-built or enlarged churches." (*Preface*, p. xii.)

The same Bishop revised the Statutes of the Cathedral in 1268, and after that, by more than one visitation, took effectual means to make his revision a practical reform. The fact is, the thirteenth century was a period of great religious revival throughout Christendom. The rise and rapid progress of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders had stirred every class in society, from the highest to the lowest. Their intellectual activity had invaded the great Universities of Bologna, Padua, Paris, Cologne, and Oxford. Both Orders had found in England a warm friend and patron in the holy and learned Robert Grossetôte, the great Bishop of Lincoln. In Italy they had given that stimulus to art which produced Cimabue, Giotto, and the early Italian masters, and some traces of the same artistic development were to be found in this country. But the more direct results of the religious revival were manifested by the number of councils that were held all over the country in this century. In 1236 a "Pan-Anglican Council," as Lindwood calls it, was held in St. Paul's, London, at which both the archbishops and nearly all the bishops of England were present, under the presidency of Cardinal Otho, Legate of Pope

* This paper was written before the publication of the fourth instalment of these "Episcopal Registers," consisting of the first part of Bishop Grandisson's Register. This is edited, not in the form of an Index, but in chronological order, as in the original. It is far the most valuable of the series.

Gregory IX. It passed a number of statutes, correcting abuses, and prescribing salutary reforms. A similar council was held in the same church, under Cardinal Othobonus in 1266, and Diocesan Synods published and supplemented its decrees according to the needs of each diocese. These were all of them the outcome of the fourth Council of Lateran held in 1215. Thus, in 1223, Richard Poore drew up, in a Synod at Salisbury, a number of constitutions, which repeat almost the very words of the Lateran Council. In the following year the same decrees substantially were promulgated by a Scotch Provincial Council in 84 Chapters. In 1230 the Bishop of Lincoln circulated throughout his diocese a series of questions bearing on the same points. The constitutions published by St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1236, are chiefly concerned with the relations between the Church and the civil government, and so are those drawn up by the Synod of Lambeth under Archbishop Boniface in 1262. The constitutions of Gideon of Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury in 1256, deal for the most part with tithes, and the duties of Cathedral Chapters. But the anonymous *Constitutiones Synodales*, which Wilkins attributes to a Synod of Lichfield; the copious Statutes of Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester in 1240; of Richard, Bishop of Chichester in 1246; of Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham in 1255; of a Synod of Norwich in 1257, and another Synod at Merton in the following year, are all upon the same lines as the Statutes of the Synod, which I wish in this paper to introduce to you, and which was held at Exeter in 1287, under Bishop Quivil.

The Statutes are divided into fifty-four chapters, of which the first eight are on the Sacraments of the Church. Chapters ix. to xvi. are on churches and chapels, their consecration, their cemeteries, their ornaments, their immunities, and their repairs. Chapters xvii. to xx. deal with the life and morals of the clergy, their residence, and the divine office. Chapters xxii. and xxiii. are on the religious obligations of parishioners. Chapter xxiv. decrees that clerics must not engage in business. Chapters xxv. to xxvi. are on church property, and chapter xxviii. on the number and stipends of vicars, or, as we should call them, curates; while certain ecclesiastical scholarships are regulated by chapter xxix. Clerics are forbidden to summon

one another before secular courts by chapter xx., while chapters xxxi. and xxxii. are on rural chapters. The two following chapters deal with lawsuits and advocates, and chapter xxv. is on the arrest of excommunicated persons. Chapters xxxvi. to xxxix. are on parishes and their rectors, followed by a chapter on archdeacons' visitations. Clerics are warned in chapter xli. not to bring themselves under the jurisdiction of secular tribunals by poaching, and regulations concerning their property are laid down in the next chapter. Then come two chapters on the promulgation of sentences of excommunication. Chapter xlv. is on matrimonial causes, followed by three chapters on appeals, questing for alms, and caution in the authentication of relics and the veneration of saints. Chapter xlix. is on Jews and their slaves. The next three chapters are on wills and testamentary provisions, and chapters liii. and liv. are on tithes, and Christmas and Easter offerings. The last chapter is a summary of the sentences of excommunication.

These statutes are followed by an injunction, issued by Bishop Quivil to his clergy, on the method of hearing confessions, with an examination of conscience according to the Ten Commandments.

In the wide range of subjects embraced by these fifty-four chapters, it is not easy to select those that will be equally interesting to everyone. I confess that the most interesting to myself are those which set forth the doctrine and practice of the Church in Devon concerning the sacraments.

[On "Baptism," we may note that the Synod laid great stress on every Catholic knowing well the form necessary for valid baptism. In case of doubtful baptism, the priest was to use this form: "Non intendo te rebaptizare; sed si non es baptizatus, ego baptizo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti." (c. ii.) "Confirmation" is to be received before the child is three years old, and if a child be found unconfirmed above that age, its parents are to fast on bread and water every Friday until it is confirmed. The *confirmati* are to wear a bandage round their foreheads for three days after confirmation, and then their heads are to be washed in the baptistery by a priest or a deacon, and the bandage is to be burned. (c. iii.)

Stringent regulations are made about the reverent celebra-

tion of Mass ; among which we may observe that one of the two candles must always be of wax. The parishioners are to provide two torches to be lighted during the Canon, and fifteen days' indulgence is granted to those who contribute to this act of devotion. The Synod says :

Because by these words : *Hoc est enim Corpus Meum*, and not by any others, the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, let not the priest elevate the host until he has fully pronounced these words, lest instead of the Creator the creature be adored by the people. And let the host be so lifted up on high, that it may be seen by the bystanders ; for by this the devotion of the faithful is stirred up, and they receive a merited increase of faith.

The small bell is to be rung to prepare them, and at the elevation the great bell is to sound three times. The hosts reserved for the sick are not to be kept more than seven days, but "on the following Sunday are to be consumed by the celebrating priest before the ablutions, or by another, so that it is done worthily and devoutly." It goes on to prescribe :

When the Eucharist shall be taken to the sick, let the priest vest himself in a surplice and stole, unless the distance of the place or the inclemency of the weather make this impossible. Let the Body of our Lord be laid in a most clean burse, and that enclosed with a lock in a clean and honourable pyx of silver or ivory, or other fitting material, and let the priest carry it on his breast with a lantern carried before him, because it is the brightness of the everlasting Light which is carried. Let a small bell also go before him, at the sound of which the faithful may be moved to adore Our Lord's Body by humbly bowing themselves down, and if possible falling on their knees. And, that in so doing their labour may be meritorious, to all such, who do this with a pure and devout heart, we mercifully remit thirteen days of their prescribed penance, that no one may think it burthensome to render so much service to his Creator. But lest, by the instigation of the devil, any troublesome doubt about the Body of Christ should take possession of the minds of the laity, before they communicate, let them be taught by the priests that under the species of bread they receive that (Body) which hung upon the Cross for their salvation ; and they receive in the chalice that which was poured out from the Body of Christ ; and let them be led on to (sound faith in) this, by examples, reasons, and miracles which have taken place up to this time. (c. iv.)

This is the only passage I have ever been able to find which can be understood to imply that Bishop Quivil maintained the necessity of Communion under both species. It is evident

from the preceding context that it implies no such thing, as there is no direction about Communion, either of the sick or of the whole, under any species but one.

In the chapter on "Penance," the archdeacons are to select in each rural-deanery one or more priests of superior learning and prudence, "who shall, in our stead, hear the confessions of the deans, rectors, vicars, and parochial clergy, in all things without prejudice to the authority of our general penitentiary, to whose judgment they shall have recourse in doubtful and more grave cases, unless it may happen that a question arises which it is inexpedient to settle without consultation with ourselves." The faithful are to be brought to confession three times a year, before Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, or at least in Lent, at its beginning, that they may not lose their part in the suffrages of the church. "If anyone does not go to Confession and Communion once in the year, let him be debarred from entrance into church while he lives, and when he dies let him not have ecclesiastical burial." Those who keep people in prison, and deny them the means of going to Confession are to be refused Christian burial. "Women are to confess in an open place, not that they may be heard, but that they may be seen." (c. v.)

In the chapter on "Extreme Unction," it is laid down that if anyone die without the sacraments through the fault or absence of the priest, "the priest convicted of this, shall be forthwith suspended from the celebration of the divine (mysteries); and that suspension shall by no means be relaxed until he has by a fitting penance expiated so grievous a crime." (c. vi.)

The chapters on churches, and their furniture, were described in my paper on "A Visitation of St. Mary Church."]*

Matrimony is always an interesting subject. Let us see what was laid down in this county in the thirteenth century by our Synod. Chapter vii. orders :

That this Sacrament be celebrated with great discretion and reverence, in honourable places, and at a suitable time, with all modesty and forethought; not in taverns, in drinking and gluttony, not in secret places or hidden and suspicious corners, but openly and soberly.

* The part within brackets was not read before the Devonshire Association.

It is perhaps not generally known that the proclamation of banns was first prescribed by the Council of Lateran, and probably first distinctly made obligatory in Devon by this Synod, which, in order to avoid those hopelessly complicated mistakes which sometimes occurred, enacts :

That no marriage, nor even espousals, be hereafter contracted except in the presence of the rector of the church, or a priest of the parish, and three trustworthy witnesses, who may be able to testify to the truth of the marriage. And when such marriages are to be solemnised, there shall be three proclamations in the churches of the parishes in which the contracting parties dwell, made publicly on Sundays and festivals, by the parish priests. These publications must be at least eight days apart, so that if any one has any impediment to allege, he may have time to do so. And the priests must themselves take every care to investigate if any lawful impediment exist, and notify it in writing to the priest who is to solemnise the marriage. And if there appears any probable conjecture against the union of the contracting parties, the contract is to be expressly interdicted until it has been canonically decided what ought to be done. He who opposes the marriage, and refuses to be put on his oath, or being sworn cannot prove his allegations, is to be canonically punished.

It appears that some unscrupulous adventurers got married to different women in different parts of the country. The Bishop, therefore, forbids, under pain of excommunication, any stranger being allowed to contract a marriage with any one in this Diocese, unless he brings letters from his own Bishop certifying that he is free to marry. Even those within the diocese, but in different archdeaconries, are required to produce letters from the archdeacon. At the door of the church, the priest who blesses the marriage is to question the parties publicly, whether their consent is free or whether they are under the influence of fear or violence. If this proves to be the case, he is forbidden to proceed any further, on pain of three years' suspension from his office.

In the chapter on Penance, priests are admonished in hearing the Confessions of married people to be careful not to impose such a penance that may be the occasion of either party suspecting the other of some great crime. Medical men, when called to the aid of the sick, are admonished that it is their duty to see that the sick person sends for the physician of souls, "since sometimes corporal disease proceeds

from sin, and when the soul is healed, the corporal malady is more wholesomely treated."

The clergy are earnestly admonished to set an edifying example to their flocks, and to avoid all ostentation and all that may foster pride. They are commanded

not to make use of silk clothes, either green or red, nor to wear embroidered sleeves or stockings, nor to have any but black shoes, nor to use gold-mounted bits, saddles, brooches, or spurs, nor any other superfluous ornament; but in their dress and bodily bearing let them shew their profession, and thus, both in condition of mind and in habit of body, study to please both God and men (cap. 17). They are not to go to banquets, unless specially invited by the master of the house, and then they are not to give way to gluttony, but return home soberly, as soon as possible after dinner. They are never to frequent taverns, except they are travelling for the sake of a pilgrimage. They are not to mix themselves up with actors or jesters, not to play dice or cards, or to join and watch others playing, and not to presume to go to public shows, nor to hunt with dogs or falcons.

There is a sad chapter, *De concubinariis*, which shows that clerical scandals of the worst kind were not unknown in Devonshire, and that it was necessary sometimes to have recourse to the secular arm for their repression.

With a view to do away with the abuse of pluralities, all rectors who are holding more than one benefice are required to show to the Bishop, before next Michaelmas, their dispensation for holding these benefices, on pain of being deprived, as the Council of Lateran ordered.

There is a curious chapter on the inquiry to be made as to the learning of ecclesiastical persons. The archdeacons are to conduct the examination, and report to the Bishop any "enormous defect in learning, in the case of rectors, vicars, or any priests." When we read a little further, we are startled by what was considered an "enormous defect." Inquiry is actually to be made whether the priests know the Ten Commandments, explain them to the people, and earnestly preach their observance. Also whether they know the Seven Deadly Sins, and preach to the people to flee from them. Whether they know the Seven Sacraments of the Church, and how each of them has to be conferred. Also, whether they have at least a simple understanding of the Christian Articles of Faith that are contained in the Psalm, *Quicumque vult*, "and in the

two creeds, in which they are bound to instruct the people committed to their care the more diligently, as no one can be saved who does not believe firmly the Catholic Faith."

Priests who are found labouring under too great ignorance of the matters above mentioned are to be suspended forthwith from their priestly office, and particularly from having the care of souls. And, for the better information of the clergy, the Synod orders that

"every one on whom the rule of a parochial Church devolves, shall draw up a short summary, which will be very useful, or to speak more truly, necessary to him, extracted from different treatises in a compendious form, and have it written out between this and Michaelmas, and thoroughly understand the same, and make use of it, on pain of a fine of one mark (13s. 4d.) to be paid to the archdeacon of the place. And if the archdeacon shall be remiss in exacting it, and does not receive it, we will that the same archdeacon be bound to pay two marks towards the building (Fabric Fund) of the Exeter Cathedral." (Cap. 20.)

Father Wallace, in his *Life of St. Edmund Rich*, relates a story, which, he says, "discloses an appalling ignorance on the part of the rural clergy." It is taken from the record of a Visitation made by Wanda, Dean of Salisbury, in 1220.

It appears that the Dean, in the course of his Visitation, came to a place called Sunning, not far from Reading. The vicar of this place employed the services of a number of clerics, whom the dean thought fit to submit to an examination. The first who was examined was one Simon, who said he had been ordained sub-deacon and deacon by an Irish bishop, acting as the Bishop of Lincoln's delegate. He was ordained priest by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, in 1210. The examiners first tried him with the Gospel of the First Sunday in Advent, but he could not translate it. They then turned to the Canon of the Mass, and pointing to the words, "*Te igitur clementissime Pater—supplices rogamus ac petimus,*" asked him in what case *Te* was. He did not know, nor could he say by what word it was governed. They told him to look at the text, and try to find by what word it was governed. Simon then said it was governed by *Pater*. Asked why he thought so, he replied "that he was under the impression that the Father governed all things." The examiners pursued their inquiries, but elicited nothing from Simon. He did not know the different antiphons; nor the hymn-tunes; nor even *Nocte surgentes*: he did not know by heart any part of the Divine Offices, or of the Psalter. When the examination was over, he ventured to observe that he thought it very unbecoming that the dean should examine him after he had once been ordained. Whereupon he was asked on what he was examined when he

was ordained priest. He replied, he could not remember. We are not surprised to find that he is pronounced *sufficietur illiteratus*.*

The recitation of the Canonical Hours is made binding on all the clergy, and rules are laid down for their being chanted in choir where this is possible. But, where they cannot be chanted, the priest is not to leave his Church in the morning until he has said his Divine Office, and he is not to say Mass until he has said Matins and Prime. The Bishop had been informed that some priests, while absent from home, allow the bells to be rung, and when the people come to Church, they find no priest, and are told: "He is just gone away." Much scandal is thus given, and the Synod orders the suspension of such a priest. Certain deacons seem to have presumed to hear confessions, and give penances, probably because they were appointed to a benefice, with the obligation of being ordained priest within the year.

The Synod forbids laymen to stand in the chancel, or to bring dogs into the Church, or make a noise in the nave while Service is going on. Parishioners are admonished of their duty to hear Mass on festivals, and especially on Sundays; and all buying and selling except of food, is forbidden on those days. Even food is not to be sold until after the Mass is over. Besides Sundays, forty-one of these festivals are enumerated, including those of the Patron of the Church, and the Dedication of the Church. Besides the Feasts of Christmas, the Circumcision and the Epiphany, and the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles are mentioned, also those of St. Gregory the Great, of St. George, St. Augustine and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Priests are strictly forbidden to accept the office of judge in criminal Courts under pain of deprivation. If this Synod had been held at the beginning of the century, Henry de Bracton could never have been Chief Justice of England, and probably his valuable work on English Law would never have been written. They are not even to be present when cases of life and death are tried. They are also forbidden to accept the offices of executor, steward, proctor, or bailiff to lay people, and

* *Life of St. Edmund*, pp. 111, 112. The original Latin of this Visitation is given from the *Registrum S. Ormundi*, fol. xliii, by Mr. Maskill in "Ancient Liturgy," &c., pp. 253-4.

this applies even to those in minor orders. No ecclesiastical benefice is to be farmed out to laymen without the special licence of the Bishop. It seems that some priests had let their benefices out to laymen, who lived in the Church-House with their wives and families, as their bailiffs, to the great scandal and ruin of the Churches. Hence, all such alienations are prohibited under the severest censures ; and all who have thus got possession of ecclesiastical property are bound, on pain of excommunication, to surrender it.

It is interesting to know what was in those days considered a proper stipend for a vicar, or curate, as he would now be called in this country. There were two kinds of vicars, perpetual and occasional. The Synod lays down that a perpetual curate is to have certain parochial dues definitely assigned to his vicarage, in value, at least equal to the stipend of a chaplain, five marks, or £3 6s. 8d., which would be about £80 a year in the present day. The Synod says the vicar will be able to keep up a certain modest hospitality, and provide for sickness, old age, or other disablements. This is in the case of a church of which the tithes amount to about forty marks, or £500 or £600 a year now. In the case of larger benefices the vicar's portion is to be increased. In no case is the vicar to receive less than 60s. a year, or £72 of our money. Where vicars have engaged themselves for less than this we require the rector to release the vicar from his contract, and promise on his oath that he will give the sum named. The Synod adds, somewhat sarcastically, rectors are not to think themselves hardly used in this matter, because they can always personally serve their churches, and so dispense with the expense of the curate.

Chapter xxix. puzzled me for a long time. Its title is, "That benefices of Holy Water be assigned to scholars only." I could not conceive what a "Holy Water Benefice" could be. The Chapter itself takes it for granted that everyone knows what is treated of, and does not explain. But Du Cange quotes a Statute of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury :

We will, moreover, that there be selected by the care of the parishioners two clerical scholars to live on the alms of the parishioners, who shall carry the Holy Water in the parish church and chapel on Sundays and Festivals, serving in the divine offices, and be released for school discipline for those days.

The same practice is mentioned by Giles, Bishop of Salisbury in 1256, and by Alexander, Bishop of Coventry in 1237. From which it appears that not only did the parish priest sprinkle the church and people with Holy Water before Mass, but that after the High Mass two boys, who served at the altar, used to carry the Holy Water through the parish to those who wished for it, with a short prayer, and that in return the boys received offerings from the faithful, which served to support them during their time of schooling. These "Holy Water Benefices" seem to have been much in request, and it was necessary to restrict the appointment to those for whom they were originally intended, viz., students for the Church. It would be useless to have given them to boys who had no opportunity of going to school, and therefore the Synod confines them to youths within ten miles of a school. They are to be awarded to those who give the best promise of profiting by the schooling.

This support of clerical students by the parishioners naturally leads us to turn to chapter xlv., "On those who quest for alms." The century which had given birth to the Mendicant Orders could not fail to produce a vast number of impostors, who, under the cloak of religion, preyed upon the liberality of pious people, and by the scandal which they gave brought discredit upon the Mendicant Orders. Our Synod thus describes these begging impostors :

They are generally ignorant persons, and of disreputable life; but they make themselves out to be learned, and put on the outward appearance of sanctity. They assume, with presumptuous audacity, the office of preaching, although they have never had any knowledge of the word of God. Amongst other errors which they put forth, they mendaciously assert that they have more and larger Indulgences to dispense than they really have, in order that thus they may entice the minds of simple people to bestow on them greater alms, which they are not ashamed to spend with prodigality, in the sight of everyone, in drinking and impurity. And hence it has come to pass that true and useful Indulgences are despised by some.

In order to put a stop to these abuses the Synod forbids the faithful to receive any beggar of alms unless he is armed with the Bishop's letters. Even then he is not allowed to preach, but the parish priests are faithfully and openly to explain to the people his object in soliciting alms, and what

Indulgences he has power to publish, according to the tenor of the letter of the Pope, or of the Bishop; and they are not to trust false documents, such as these people often produce, unless these documents have been examined by the Bishop, and attested by his seal. The money collected is to be kept intact until the next Rural Chapter, when it is to be assigned to the archdeacon of the place to a trustworthy messenger for transmission to its proper destination.

Another form of religious imposture was the hawking about of sham relics of saints. I remember seeing in the Basilica of St. John Lateran a list of supposititious relics which had found their way into the treasury of that ancient church, and which were weeded out by command of the Pope. If these could be found in the Mother Church of Western Christendom much more readily would they obtain credence among a people of such a small amount of culture as the English possessed in the thirteenth century. The Synod therefore forbids the veneration of any relics unless they have the approbation of the Roman Pontiff; and no relics are to be sold; "nor are any stones, or wells, or trees, or pieces of wood, or clothes, or any other things to be accounted holy on the strength of dreams or other fictitious evidence. For apostolic authority declares that such superstition savours of heretical pravity."

Father Wallace, in his *Life of Edmund of Canterbury*, mentions St. Edmund's Well at Oxford, and says:—

This well was much resorted to by the people for the healing of wounds and maladies, but the practice was subsequently prohibited by Bishop Sutton (1280–1299) on the score of superstition. (p. 49.)

This would be just about the time of this Synod, so that it would appear that a strenuous effort was made by the Bishops at the end of the thirteenth century to root out the remains of superstition.

The chapter "On the Jews and their Slaves," requires a little introduction to enable us to understand it. There were few Jews in England in Anglo-Saxon times, but they became much more numerous under the Conqueror and his successors. The laws of Edward the Confessor laid down:—

It must be known that all Jews, wherever they may be in the kingdom, ought to be under the safeguard and defence of the liegdom of the king.

Neither can any one of them put himself under any rich man without the license of the king; because the Jews themselves and all their property are the king's own. And if anyone shall take, or keep possession of them, or their money, the king may recover them as his own property, if he will, and is able. (xxv.)

The Jew was enrolled from his birth as the king's property—"Proprium catallum nostrum—our own chattel," as one of the royal charters express it. He was exempted from all taxes, or dues, to local authorities, and this helped to make him more detested by the people in general. They had their own schools, and synagogues, and cemeteries. They were obliged to live in towns, and in a certain quarter called the Jewry. Their only occupation was that of lending money, for which they charged as much as from 43 to 65, and even 86 per cent. in the year. They had the monopoly; for the general teaching of the Church was that usury was forbidden to Christians, though, by a curious kind of casuistry, it was supposed to be allowable for them to encourage it in Jews. They had to pay heavily for this royal protection, by a capitation tax of 3d. for every male or female over twelve; and in any emergency the whole body could be taxed at will. To add to the general detestation in which they were held, towards the end of the reign of Henry III. it was discovered that, by the forfeiture of securities, they were gaining possession of a considerable quantity of land. Edward I., in his first Parliament, forbade them to lend money on interest any more, removed the restrictions on their engaging in ordinary work or trade, and enabled them to take leases of land. But few availed themselves of this permission. Just then a vast quantity of light coin was found in circulation, and the Jews were accused of clipping the coin, and no less than 293 Jews were hanged in London for this offence. In the very year in which this Synod was held, 1287, they incurred the king's displeasure, and the whole Jewish population were thrown into prison, and only released when they had paid a fine of £12,000. Three years later, they were all, without exception, expelled the kingdom, and the Parliament voted the king a fifteenth in gratitude for their expulsion. For 300 years no Jew set foot on English soil, and it was only in the reign of Charles II. that they obtained permission to settle again in this country. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind

when we read the intolerant enactments of our Synod. I will give the whole of chapter xlix. :—

That the kingdom of God has been taken away from the Jews, and given to a nation doing justice, is found written in the canonical books. By which it is clear that the servants of Christ have been given liberty, and that the Jews have been subjected to them in perpetual bondage. Since, therefore, it is written, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman," we reckon it too absurd that the sons of the free-woman should be servants to the sons of the bondwoman.

Wherefore, following the decrees of the Council of Lateran, we strictly forbid that Jews, under colour of bringing up their own children, should have Christian slaves in their houses, whether for service or for any other reason; lest, perhaps, by constant familiarity they may incline the minds of simple folk towards their own unbelief. For consorting with the evil often corrupts good morals. Christians who presume to go contrary to this prohibition are excommunicated, and Jews subject themselves to a heavy penalty.

We also forbid Jews from performing any public offices on the pretext of which they may be too offensive to Christians.

And, since it is not lawful to take food with them, we forbid Jews to come to the banquets of Christians, or Christians to go to theirs.

Also, if a Christian shall be sick, let him not take medicine from a Jew.

Also, on Good Friday, let them keep their doors and windows shut, because they are accustomed to make game of the sorrow of Christians on that day.

We also forbid them to build new synagogues; but if the old ones fall down, or threaten to become ruinous, we know that it is sufficient that they be permitted to rebuild them; but not so as to make them larger, or more costly than they were before.

In addition to these restrictions, we prescribe, that Jews of both sexes shall wear upon their outer clothes two woollen patches of a different colour, sewed on to their breast, two fingers broad, and at least four fingers long; that thus they may by the difference of dress be distinguished from Catholics, and all excessive mixing in a damnable manner between the one and the other may be avoided.

But, that the parochial churches be not defrauded of their rights through them, we command that the Jews pay tithes of the land which they cultivate, or else resign those possessions; and for the houses which they inhabit, they are strictly compelled to render the parochial dues owing to the parish Church.

It would certainly have been much more pleasant to have seen Bishop Quivil stand forth, as St. Bernard did, to defend the poor Jews from popular resentment; but historic truth will

not allow us to do so, and we must acknowledge that the Synod of Exeter was not more tolerant than the English Parliament and the King.

The Church, however, did not shrink from undertaking the defence of those of her own children who were victims of oppression. In those turbulent times, when the sword was the rough and ready arbiter of every quarrel, the privilege of sanctuary was one of the best safeguards of the weak against the strong. It was like the City of Refuge among the Israelites. As the Synod expresses it, "Holy Mother Church, as a kind mother, gathers all into her bosom : and thus, each and all, good or bad, who take refuge with her, are protected unhurt under her mantle." They quote the Legatine Council under Cardinal Othobonus, which decreed :

If anyone shall drag out from the Church, or cemetery, or cloister, the person that has taken refuge there, or prevent his being supplied with necessary food ; or shall hostilely or violently carry off property deposited in the aforesaid places, or cause or approve of such carrying off by their followers, or lend their assistance, openly or secretly, to such things being done by those presuming on their aid, counsel, or consent—we bind them *ipso facto* by the bond of excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved until they have made full compensation to the Church for the wrong suffered.

The Synod reiterates this excommunication, and adds to it a further excommunication against anyone who shall lay violent hands upon another in a sacred place, or palliate the offence by asserting it to be not sacred. The right of sanctuary was constantly used by both parties in the Wars of the Roses, and doubtless prevented a great deal of bloodshed. In the time of Edward I., its violation by Robert Bruce was the ground of his excommunication by all the Bishops of England. It must be admitted that sanctuary was often abused by lawless men, who thus evaded, for a while at least, the penalty of their crimes ; but it gave time for fiery passions to cool down, and justice to be done with more deliberation than was common in those days.

The last chapter contains a formidable list of excommunications which are ordered to be published in every parish church on the first Sunday in Advent, on Septuagesima Sunday, and on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,

that is, the first Sunday in August. Among those who incur excommunication are false witnesses in matrimonial cases, or cases of inheritance, also lawyers who unnecessarily prolong these cases. Those who attempt or do anything wrong against Magna Charta, as renewed by Henry III., and "confirmed many times by the sentence of the Apostolic See," are also excommunicated.

But, although these censures were to be thus frequently published, yet the excommunication of any individual was to be carried out with great prudence and caution, and only when no other remedy could remove the evil. In chapter xliii., rules are given to be observed in such cases by the archdeacons and others, to whom this power was committed. The offender was to be admonished three times in the presence of witnesses, and then the sentence was to be given in writing to the excommunicated person, with a month's grace, if asked. After this interval the excommunication was to be carried out, and any who communicated with the offender were involved in the same sentence with him. Such communication extended to eating, drinking, embracing, saluting, speaking, or praying with him, or any other kind of intercourse. This greater excommunication is to be published in the Church when the largest number possible are present, with lighted candles, and tolling of bells, so that everyone may know the name and cause of such excommunication. No excommunication may be pronounced by any official personally concerned in the matter, but only where the public rights of the Church have been violated. In cases of obstinate contempt of the excommunication the secular arm is to be appealed to as a last resort, and this is to be done by letters from the Bishop, and absolution is not to be given except when the Bishop certifies in writing that the censure is removed.

In the Middle Ages all testamentary causes, like matrimonial causes, fell under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The fiftieth chapter, on Wills, gives some curious information as to the procedure in such cases. The Synod begins by declaring that no one may under pain of excommunication hinder any one "of any condition, cleric or laic, free or bondman, from freely leaving by Will the goods that he may possess at the time of his death." It goes on to ordain

that anyone who thus desires to make a disposition of his property must send for the rector, vicar, or chaplain, of the parish Church, and in his presence, and that of two or more credible witnesses, dispose of his personal property as he shall think best for the benefit of his own soul, always reserving the expenses of his funeral, and his just debts, which have to be paid before any distribution is made. The wife and children are to have equal portions, all the children being reckoned as one. If the testator has already made provision for one or more of his children, such child is not to take his share with the rest. Those things that are for the testator's own personal use, such as horses and armour, or for his wife's use, as furniture, women's dresses, jewels, rings, should be reserved for the husband or wife, as the case may be, without any division.

Let the testator constitute faithful and respectable men of our Diocese for his executors; and, if it can be done, let him draw up his Will in writing, and let it be closed up, and at once sealed with his own seal, if he has one, or else with that of some other person, and let those who are present add their own seals; otherwise, if it only has the testator's seal, it may be afterwards plausibly urged that another Will has been forged after the death of the testator, as we have sometimes heard of being done. When the Will has been made, either by word of mouth or in writing, and the body of the testator committed to the grave, let the executors repair to the ordinary of the place (that is to the archdeacon, or perhaps the rural dean), and in the case of a written Will, testify to the Will having been made, and to the signatures of the witnesses. In the case of a Will by word of mouth they shall bring clear evidence of all that the testator is asserted to have willed, and especially concerning everything he has left behind him, and the evidence must be such that the executors themselves are in no way to be admitted as witnesses.

When the Will has been proved, let the executors faithfully draw up an inventory in the presence of persons worthy of credit, specially summoned for this purpose, in which all the goods possessed by the deceased at the time of his death, all debts owing to him, and all which he owed to others, shall be faithfully and distinctly written out, and attested by the seals of the executors and those present. Until all this has been done, and we command that they be done within fifteen days of the funeral, the executors may not administer. When they administer they must take care at once to assign to the wife and children their portions. From the portion out of which they distribute the legacies they are to pay the debts owed by the testator, and they are to call in debts owing to him. Towards the payment of his debts the wife and children are bound to contribute *pro rata*. But executors are not to keep back their portions

for fear of outstanding debts. They may take security from them that they pay their proportion of what may be owing. . . . Executors are to administer with such diligence, as that after the lapse of a year, nothing shall remain to be executed ; otherwise they shall be removed from their office, after giving in their accounts, and more fit persons shall be appointed to complete their work. .

Executors unnecessarily delaying to administer the estate of the testator are excommunicated, and so are those who fraudulently pretend debts which the deceased man never owed. Executors are, however, allowed moderate expenses, since they ought not to be losers by this duty ; but they must not, under pain of excommunication, presume to appropriate to themselves anything that has not been expressly left to them by the Will. If a person outside the Diocese is appointed executor, he cannot be allowed to administer, unless he finds some substantial man among our subjects to be responsible for him upon oath. All executors are warned, that "if there is reason to think the deceased was much in debt, they are not to pay legacies to anyone, without first taking security from him that he will restore whatever the *Lex Falcidia* requires in this case."

The *Lex Falcidia* puzzled me for a long time, until I consulted a barrister friend, who enlightened me, and referred me to the Institutes of Justinian, where it was fully explained. It was a law passed forty years before Christ, and extended by Antoninus Pius and Severus, then incorporated in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian, and from these into the old law of England. By it the heir-at-law took, as of right, one-fourth of the testator's property, and all legacies had to be reduced so as to secure this portion. The old law of England went further, and secured to the wife and children two-thirds of the whole property, whatever provisions the testator might make in his Will. Blackstone says that this is how the law stood in the time of Henry II. The shares of the wife and children were called "their reasonable parts." So it continued down to the time of Charles I. It was only in the time of William and Mary that the law allowed a man to bequeath the whole of his property. Blackstone quotes a Decree of Pope Innocent IV., "written about the year 1250 ; wherein he lays down for established canon law, that 'In Britain the third part of the goods

of the deceased who dies intestate are to be dispensed on the work of the Church, and the poor.'” In 1357, Edward III. modified the law by requiring the ordinary to appoint the next friend of the deceased to be administrator of the estate, and this was the origin of what we know as “Letters of Administration.”

Religious, that is monks and friars, are forbidden by the Synod to accept the office of executor, “to remove all ground for their wandering about and not being occupied solely with the service of God.” What has been said about the *Lex Falcidia* must be borne in mind, in the consideration of the following statutes. The Synod prescribes that all Wills shall add at the end of this general clause :—

All the rest of my goods, whether actually mine, or at present in the hands of my debtors, not expressly mentioned in this Will, I will to be distributed for the salvation of my soul in pious uses by the hands of my executors; and likewise that by their hands due satisfaction be made to my creditors.

The chapter concludes by laying down that if any layman die intestate, and without legal heirs, his property is to be taken in hand by the ordinary of the place, that is the arch-deacon, so that the whole of it is to be expended in pious uses for the soul of the deceased. Whether our present law of the whole going to the Crown, in such cases, is a change for the better or worse is a matter on which opinions will differ. The next chapter regulates the case of a rector dying in Lent on or after Mid-Lent Sunday. He is presumed to have ploughed and sown his glebe; and it would seem that many of the parochial clergy were so improvident that, until the harvest, they had nothing to pay their debts with. Accordingly, the Synod ordains that the executors of the deceased rector shall take over the glebe, and the coming harvest, and all the standing crops, with all the burthens and dues, until the succeeding Lent, when the glebe shall be handed over to the new rector, who, in the meantime, is to be content with the hay, grazing meadow, and garden-stuff of the rectory. If the rector dies without making a Will, the Bishop is to supply the defect at his discretion, so that the creditors shall be paid. In any case, his vicars, or curates, are to receive their stipend in full, and as speedily as possible. If a vacancy occurs at the time when

the land ought to be sown, the rural deans must take it in hand, and have their expenses paid by the future rector.

The chapter (liii.) on tithes throws much light on the state of things in rural parishes. The Synod takes it for granted that tithes are a divine institution in the Christian dispensation, as they were in the days of Moses, and thus they lay their payment upon the consciences of the faithful as a divine command. When I was a boy, my father, who was an Anglican rector, before the Tithe Commutation Act, for two or three years collected the tithes in kind, and many were the tricks played upon him by the farmers. One farmer, whose wife had borne him ten children, sent the last baby up to the rectory, saying, that as the rector insisted upon having the tenth pig, he thought he ought to take the tenth child as well. Our Synod says :

Because the tithes ought to be of all things that are lawfully acquired, we ordain, that tithes must be paid, not only of corn, but of cider presses,* garden-herbs, bees, horses, animals, wool, linen, hemp, honey, pigeons, cheese, butter, fisheries, woodcutting, swineherding (*pannagium*), fire-wood, straw (*mericis*), hay, meadow-grass, pasturage sold to outsiders, if not on the cattle feeding there. Also on profits from letting out oxen on hire outside the parish, on ovens, game, corn-mills, granaries, without deduction of their cost. Also by fullers, from the profit of their bargains, by silversmiths, metal-workers, stonemasons, and all other traders and artificers.

One would have thought that the collection of these tithes must have led to endless disputes ; and we are rather surprised to find how few evasions are considered worthy of mention by the Synod. This is especially to be wondered at, since the Synod forbids tithe to be paid in money, "if by this the Church is injured."

One piece of sharp practice was for the farmer to say that a certain part of a meadow had been of long time assigned for the payment of the tithe ; and it may be presumed it was not the best hay that grew there. Another practice obtained in some places, that laymen absolutely refused to pay their tithes, unless

* *Pomis pressoriis*, Exeter MS. The MS. copy of this Synod preserved in the Cathedral Library is much more clear than either Spelman or Wilkins. The latter says his MS. reads "*presariis*," and Spelman proposes "*rosariis*." Further on, Wilkins reads *meretis*, which makes no sense. The Exeter MS. reads *mericis*.

the rector prepared a feast for them, and gave their labourers gloves, or some other present for taking care of the tithings. These customs the Synod strongly condemns.

In some places very complicated questions arose out of the practice of driving sheep to pasturage in different parishes, as to which rector the tithe of the wool was to be paid. The Synod, for the avoiding of quarrels among the clergy, decides as follows:—

If from the time of shearing to the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 12) the sheep feed and sleep in one parish, then the tithe of the wool, cheese and butter shall be paid to the church of that parish for the said time, although they may be afterwards removed, and shorn elsewhere, for it is commonly said, that before the above-named feast as much wool grows as in the whole year. And that the rector be not defrauded of his tithe, we ordain that before the flocks are removed from the pastures he shall take sufficient security for the payment of his tithe at the time of shearing.

But if the sheep remain in one parish from the feast of St. Martin up to the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the tithe of the lambs shall be paid to that church, saving the tithe of the wool to other rector, from whose parish they have been removed.

But if from the time of shearing up to the feast of St. Martin they have been transferred to different pastures, each church shall receive a *pro rata* portion of tithe. But if in one parish they sleep and feed there for twenty days, or less, and not more, so short a time shall not be counted in the reckoning.

The tithe of cheese, and the milk of cows and goats, if they sleep and feed in one parish, shall be paid there; otherwise shall be divided among the rectors according to the time passed in each place.

In the case of foals and horses, calves and kids, reckoning shall be made according to the places where they have been generated, born, and brought up, and to the length of time they have passed in the parishes in question, and the tithe divided accordingly between the rectors.

“But if any one kills sheep, or they die from any accident after the feast of St. Martin, he shall make satisfaction to the church for the fleece. And if any sheep from a distance be shorn in anyone’s parish, the rector shall retain the tithe of the wool, until he is certified that the tithe has been paid elsewhere.

Other regulations were made to provide for cases where, from the fewness of the cattle, no clear tenth could be counted. Supposing the number of lambs, kids, or little pigs, were under seven, one farthing is fixed as the tithe, for each calf a half-penny, for a foal a penny. For each cow’s milk, if there is no

cheese, a penny is fixed as the tithe, for the milk of a sheep a farthing, for that of a goat a halfpenny.

It seems that some who had flour mills used to grind very small quantities at a time, say a handful of grains, and every day paid tithes of the meal. Thus the Church was injured because the rector was not allowed to have chests there to collect these minute tithes. The Synod therefore orders that the tithes of every mill are to be paid on the first of each month, or else that a chest be kept at the mill to receive the tithes, which the rector shall be free to take away when he likes. It appears that the tithes of milk were accustomed to be taken in cheese, but some farmers brought the milk to the Church, and if they did not find anything there to put it in used "in contempt of God and the Church to throw it out before the altar." Others will not allow the rectors to collect their tithes, but seize their horses and oxen and impound them, and give the tithes as food for their own or other people's cattle. Others fraudulently take back some of their tithes, and some knowingly deteriorate them.

The Synod complains that certain county magnates seek to defraud the rectors, not only in receiving their tithes, but even after they have got them by using threats sometimes to their own tenants, but generally to outsiders, openly and secretly, not to purchase anything from the rectors, so that these cannot find purchasers for the goods they receive in tithe, except at a ruinously low price, and so eventually these magnates buy up the rector's tithes for a trifle. They do the same with the dues of the Bishop and archdeacons. Patrons leave benefices vacant, and in the meantime seize the tithes. "All these molesters, accomplices, and furtherers, by the authority of God the Father Almighty, and blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, our patron, and with the approbation of this present Synod, we excommunicate them, until they shall render competent satisfaction for the wrongs committed."

The next chapter lays down that every adult, that is of fourteen years of age, four times in the year, viz., on Christmas Day, at Easter, on the Feast of the Patron Saint of the place, and on the Feast of the Dedication of the Church, or else on the Feast of All Saints, shall honour his own parish church with his obligations, and these offerings, in the cases of parishes

appropriated to religious, shall not go to the religious, but to the vicars who are canonically instituted. And because the Church of Exeter is the mother of all the Churches in the Diocese, all the faithful in the Diocese are admonished to send by their parish priest, in token of their due subjection, their offerings at Pentecost to the aforesaid Church. As an encouragement to this duty parish priests are exhorted to publish the indulgences granted to those who thus fulfil their obligations to their Bishop, on the three Sundays next before Pentecost.

The Synod considers it superfluous to make any decrees at present with regard to Religious Orders. If they only observe their own rule, and the statutes of the Legatine Council under Cardinal Othobonus, and the admonitions to individual members of them, made almost every year in the episcopal visitations, they will have sufficient guidance for their conduct. As to the Statutes of the present Synod, if any questions arise as to the meaning of them, the Bishop or his Official, that is, his Vicar General, is the interpreter.

Whether these Statutes approve themselves to our judgment or not, I think all will acknowledge that they were drawn up by men who thoroughly knew what they were about, and had an earnest practical zeal for the spiritual and moral well-being of the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall.

ART. II.—BUDDHIST SECTS IN JAPAN.

AS it is the fashion nowadays to discuss Buddhism, to praise it, and even to try to spread it abroad ; and as, on the other hand, the Japanese have just entered upon the scene of military glory, and by their exploits therein have drawn upon themselves the attention of all nations ; it will, perhaps, not be uninteresting to cast a glance upon the state of Buddhism in this singular country.

The majority of Japanese are not Buddhists, as we are made to believe by those who wish to glorify that religion and to substitute it in the place of Christianity, but the cult of Çakyamûni certainly numbers many followers in that country. At the same time its disciples are divided into numerous sects, some of which possess nothing of Buddhism but the name.

It is, above all, an examination of these[†] different sects which we wish to place before our readers. This task would have been a very difficult if not an impossible one, had not a young Japanese *savant* taken it upon himself to lighten it by publishing an interesting work upon the subject. We shall draw from it a good portion of what we have to say about these different schools.

But, in the first place, we must call to mind the general principles of the doctrine of the *Lion of the Çâkyas*.^{*} Our author, M. Ryauon Fujishima, pretends, however, that there is but one orthodox Buddhism, containing the true doctrine of the founder, which is that of Japan ; besides which, Europeans have never had a true idea of Buddhism. That is to say, they are only acquainted with its exterior form, and know nothing of its intimate character, its interior form, which never varies, while its exterior changes according to times and places and their special needs. Thus they have taken the accidental for the essential, the changeable for the immutable, and consequently have drawn an absolutely inaccurate picture of the doctrine.

Buddhism, to quote our author,[†] has an esoteric doctrine and

^{*} *Çâkyasinha*, one of Buddha's names.

[†] M. R. Fujishima is very well informed upon this matter. After having

an exoteric one, also called the *Holy Way* and the *Pure Ground*; the former reserved for high intelligences and for indomitable characters, and the practice of which is very difficult, whilst the other is accessible to weak and common minds, and only requires very ordinary efforts—almost none at all, as will be seen.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BUDDHIST SECTS.

Buddhism is at one and the same time metaphysical, logical, mystical, and religious; but under all these forms it has but one object, one principle, one cause of existence, which is to drag its disciples from the whirlpool of re-births and to assure to them happiness, the entrance to Nirvâna, after their present and last existence. Metempsychosis with its painful trials, re-births into an existence devoted to the punishment of former sins—such is the necessary basis, the *raison d'être* of Buddhism, failing which it would be without any aim or object.

Buddhism, then, is nothing more than an offshoot of Brahmanism, since this also seeks to accomplish the same object; but it is distinguished from the latter especially in that it suppresses all the theogony and the entire Olympus of the Brahmans, their whole religion in fact—prayers, sacrifice, and the rest—to substitute in its place naturalism and the laws of fate.

Nirvâna, with its eternal repose—such, in short, is the object, the entire end which the faithful must strive to gain; but to do this he must become *buddha*—that is to say, enlightened, illuminated, possessing by inspiration the light which completely discloses the nature of things and the road which man must follow to arrive at his term of being.

But what is the road which leads to this happy end, which the faithful must traverse in order to obtain the glory of Buddha and to arrive at *Nirvâna*?

In order to understand it, we must give an accurate description of Being itself and of the laws by which its actions are ruled.

concluded his studies at the "Buddhist Faculty" of Tokio, he came to finish his scientific researches at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, where he remained for several years.

The existence of beings, their development, the trials which they undergo, are all governed by a necessary and fatal law, which depends neither upon the will of Buddha, nor upon that of any God; this law produces its effects as a necessary cause; every phenomenon, every action has a necessary and adequate cause, though at times we may not discern it and may attribute its result to chance alone.

Everything is produced by the efficacy of this law, without any divine power being able to change it. Buddha and all celestial beings are obliged to obey it, like the most ordinary of mortals. Buddhist metaphysics suppress God altogether; thus our author compares the Buddhist law to those of the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy as held by us. Buddhism then, as affirmed by one of its most profound adepts, is both atheistical and material.

It is true that the will of intelligent beings may interrupt this fatality, but even this will itself and the acts produced by it are the cause of physical and necessary effects; so that a fault committed irremediably draws down its consequences and its punishment in another life.

This law, then, operates upon three degrees of time; the past has produced the present, which again begets the future. In this manner a human being passes successively, because of this law of causation, into one or other of six possible conditions: an infernal being, a phantom, an animal, a demon, a man, and a celestial being. Even celestial beings may fall into quite an inferior condition.

I spoke a little while ago of the mind, or of the will, as being distinct from the body, from matter. But in the eyes of the Buddhist these are not different essences, but are simply two different modes of existence of the absolute essence of beings, which know neither birth nor death; their vicissitudes are but apparent changes, which cause neither production nor dissolution, and can only be looked upon as "the play of cause and effect" (*sic*).

I confess to not being able to understand very clearly the meaning of all this, and the author himself would, I think, feel rather embarrassed were he asked to explain himself. But Orientals do not, as a rule, go so far, and words very much wanting in meaning can satisfy their intellectual requirements.

Such then is the law which conducts man to his supreme end, to happiness undivided, to *Nirvāna*. But what is this *Nirvāna*, of which so much is said, without in any way satisfying the curious or establishing a uniformity of doctrine?

The Buddhists themselves know nothing about it, and their Buddha, enlightened as he was, did not give them any instruction upon this point about which he knew so much. The meaning of the word *nirvāna* is "extinction," and the choice of this word seems to prove that the founder of the religion meant by it the extinction of all individual existence. But he was careful not to say so in formal terms; it was quite sufficient for his disciples to know that in *Nirvāna* they would be delivered from all kinds of suffering. At the same time the different Buddhist schools have explained this word and the state to which it refers in the manner best suited to each one of them. To some of them it means annihilation, or immersion into the ocean of being; to others it is plenitude, reality opposed to the illusion or emptiness of the present life; or, again, complete calm in the bosom of an existence of eternal happiness. But even this tells us nothing, for this calm and this happiness may be purely negative, and the word *nirvāna*, which itself is negative, can only have been chosen because it denoted nothing positive.

The way to attain to this singular happiness is by observing the precepts of morality; by not killing living beings, not stealing, nor committing adultery, not lying, and not drinking to excess.

M. Fujishima believes that this system of morality is quite equal to that of Christianity; he even finds it superior, because it recognises the *rights of animals*, and imposes duties with regard to them. We will not lose time in discussing his opinion. The learned writer depends upon Darwinism for the justification of his thesis concerning our moral obligations towards animals. We certainly owe something to those who are descended from the same ancestor as ourselves, and, he concludes, it is not lawful to say that animals were put into the world for our use. The Japanese, however, eat flesh meat, make use of horses in various ways, and kill those animals which are harmful to man; facts which are rather contradictory to this theory. That cruelty to animals is reprehensible

and begets cruelty to man needs no Buddhist laws to teach us. But that we have really moral duties towards these inferior beings is an idea which even Buddhists admit only sporadically.

Such are the common principles held by the twelve Buddhist sects of Japan. We will now see in what their peculiarities and differences consist. A little while ago we mentioned the *Holy Way* and the *Pure Ground*. Ten of these schools belong to the first category, and two only to the second, which is also called the *Hināyana*, or "Inferior (lower or diminished) Vehicle," in opposition to the first-named, which is called by its disciples *Mahāyana*, or "Great Vehicle."

FIRST CATEGORY.—THE HOLY WAY, OR MAHAYANA.

FIRST SECT.—THE KU-SHA.

This is the system of primitive Buddhism, of which it forms the first degree. The object of its teaching is the destruction of the illusion which makes us believe in the reality of the human *Ego*, which illusion is the cause of the various trans-migrations and all the sufferings entailed by them. In reality the *Ego* is not a real existence, but only an aggregate of the five elements of being, united by an ephemeral combination. Time, with its three phases, past, present and future, with the essence of the different properties of beings, are the only real *supposita* constantly in existence. These essential properties (*skandhas*) are:—1st, Form; 2nd, Sensation; 3rd, Idea; 4th, Conception; 5th, Knowledge. These elements are not the properties of beings, but different essences which communicate themselves to each other and mingle together so as to form particular beings, or those appearances which we erroneously look upon as such. In reality there are five universal beings, which I will call the *pan-form*, the *pan-sensation*, the *pan-idea*, the *pan-concept*, and the *pan-knowledge*, which play their part in the formation of particular beings, having an appearance of reality, like that of soap-bubbles, but which also destroy them at pleasure, or rather whenever the laws of nature decree.

Therefore there is no human *Ego*, because, outside of these five elements, which do not really belong to the individual,

there is nothing which could possibly constitute the *Ego* ; our mind, our soul is nothing more than a manifestation of the universal idea and sensation which are not individualities. This doctrine approaches Brahmanism by its negation of individual existence, of the substantiality of particular beings, and by its teaching as regards illusion. It differs from it in that Brahmanism places its reality in Brahma, and therefore in elements both impersonal and multiple.

This school derives its name from part of the title of its religious code the *Abhidharma Koṣaśāstra*, or Code of the Treasures of Metaphysics. It was introduced into Japan in A.D. 698, by two Japanese priests, Thi-tsou and Thi-tatsou, who received their *Koṣa* in China, and brought a translation of it home with them.

This is also the sect which has most fully developed the philosophical part of the doctrine. It distinguishes seventy-five elements or *skandhas*, seventy-two of which are composite and the others simple.

The first group comprises ten visible forms—viz., the five senses and their objects—and also an invisible one which interiorly responds to the external actions, whether good or bad ; then the mind, with its perception and knowledge, which is of six different kinds ; and then again, all kind of impressions, sentiments, virtues, and faults.

The three simple elements are the conscious and insensible cessation of existence and space. The first is the goal of all the efforts of those who desire deliverance. One can see that these divisions are arbitrary, and without any common sense, and that they attribute existence to purely abstract and imaginary concepts. According to this school there are three classes of Buddhists:—1st, The disciples who still meditate upon the cause and effect of everything ; if they are faithful they are delivered after three existences ; if not they must attain *sixty kalpas*, or age of enormous duration. 2nd, The few isolated Buddhas who meditate upon the mutual connection (chain) of causes, and who comprehend the non-eternity of the world. These attain deliverance more or less promptly according to the degree of their faults. Finally, the Bodhisattwas, who practise perfection—the six principal virtues : alms-deeds, morality, patience, energy, meditation, wisdom—and who

also during their existence attain to the cessation of illusion, deliverance.

SECOND SECT, *SADYA SIDDHI CĀSTRA*, OR OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF TRUTH.

The author of this sect was a Hindu of the name of Hari-varman, who lived six centuries after Buddha, and who, dissatisfied with the narrow teaching of his school, wished to make it broader and more rational. He took a little from all the various schools of the Hinâyana, and composed a system all his own from the different fragments of the others.

The foundation of his doctrine was the *two voids* and the *two meditations* necessary to understand them.

The first void is the *Ego*; and this may be understood by the first meditation, which runs thus: "As in an empty bottle there is nothing, so also in the elements there is no substance which may be termed 'I' or personality."

The second void is that of the elements which compose particular beings, or *skandhas*, and upon which one must make the following meditation: "As the substance of the bottle does not in itself exist, so also the *skandhas*, or elements, only exist in name." To be able to understand these two voids we must remove from our minds all obstacles caused by our passions and which proceed from the senses and from our thoughts.

As a consequence of this nihilism, this school teaches the non-reality of the three parts of time; the present alone exists, for it, as a reality. But each being is and is not at the same time, as the result of perpetual change which everything undergoes and which does not permit any definite state to exist an instant. Everything is in a perpetual state of "becoming," as Hegel puts it.

This school, however, admits as a reality the infinitely small, and resolves itself into a vague and floating idealism.

This doctrine does not, any more than the preceding one, give an explanation of the origin of those elements which constitute a being. It lays down its theories without giving any reason for them. Everything, according to its teaching, resolves itself into an act of the mind upon which depends

the universe. It is subjectivism in all its crudity. As M. Fujishima says: "Phenomena are but reflections in the mirror of the mind, and their changes but the movements of the waves upon an ideal sea."

THIRD SECT.—THE *VINAYA*.

This school takes its name from the books of the *Vinaya*, or moral precepts which compose its code. It was founded in India by Dharmagupta two centuries after the death of Buddha, was introduced into China in the fifth century of our era, and into Japan in the eighth. It was two Japanese priests who went to seek for the *Vinaya* in China, and who brought it back with them in 723, after having passed twelve years on the sea without being able to land. The Japanese Emperor, Sho Mou, caused a bronze statue to be made representing the Buddha Vairocana, the type of moral perfection. A vast terrace was constructed, covered by an immense building, in which the Emperors and Empresses were obliged to practise the principles of the *Vinaya*. This school admitted the nothingness of the *Ego* and of the elements, but did not trouble itself at all with metaphysics. Its whole action was concentrated upon morality (*çila*), which it divided into three categories:—1st, the *çila* of good conduct; 2nd, that of good works; 3rd, that of benevolence towards all living beings. This formed three different teachings, and, as it were, three initiations which were attained successively and according as one advanced in the way of perfection.

The whole doctrine of the *Vinaya* school is contained in this formula: "It is by observing the rules of morality (*çila*) that we became buddhas." The moral precepts vary, however, in number and in severity according to those with whom they deal, whether monks or laity.

FOURTH SECT, *DHARMA LAKSHANA*, OR OF THE CHARACTER OF THE ELEMENTS AND OF BEINGS.

This sect claims to have received its doctrine from the Maitreya Buddha, who descended into the centre of India from heaven on purpose to teach it. It was brought into Japan in 653.

The special theory of this doctrine is that the three worlds of form, desire, and non-form exist only in the imagination, and that nothing really exists outside of the imagination. The *Ego* and the elements are purely an illusion, the mind alone is real.

Man passes through three periods. During the first, ignorance causes him to believe in the reality of the *Ego*, and by so doing he precipitates himself into the torrent of trans-migrations. Him Buddha teaches that the elements alone exist. In the second period man recognises the non-reality of the *Ego*, but still believes in the existence of properties. To him Buddha teaches the non-existence of the properties of beings. In the third period man discovers the middle way, which is neither existence nor annihilation—that is to say, that nature, both absolute and negative, is real, but that its imaginary properties are false. Or rather, man learns to distinguish the one from the other.

Those who succeed in discovering the middle way are buddhas, illuminati. The others are Bodhisattwas, or men with natures similar to Buddha.

This school again proposes to itself the following question : “When a man practises the only true knowledge how long must he wait, what passions must he destroy, before he becomes Buddha?”

This is the answer : “When a man has succeeded in lighting up his mind to the *bodhi*, or profound and certain knowledge, owing to the powerful effect of causes, and to the advice of his friends, he must still pass through three periods of immeasurable length, during which time he must constantly practise meditation. After which he must pass through those degrees which destroy the obstacle caused by the passions and the veil which hides the truth, and when this is accomplished he attains to wisdom and perfect enlightenment—he becomes Buddha.”

FIFTH SECT, THE *TRI CÂSTRA*, OR OF THE “THREE BOOKS OF DOCTRINE.”

This takes its name from three books whose titles concern us but little. It claims to be founded upon all the teachings of Buddha, while each of the others is founded upon one particular book.

Its essential principle is the negation of all phenomena, whether interior or exterior ; complete nothingness (the synthetic Nothing).

Absolute truth is neither existence nor void, but is quite independent of either of these two ideas, and is perfectly intangible. Everything comprehensible is contingent, and contingency is but an appearance, a passing phenomena, which cannot be grasped.

The faithful, therefore, must reject the chimeric idea of existence and of non-existence, and be careful not to oppose one to the other. To dispel this idea we must have recourse to eight negations, or to a quadruple negation of relative and opposite ideas, which means that we must deny birth and dissolution, the movements of coming and going, the conception of identity and of difference—in a word, that of existence and non-existence.

If a man is convinced of these eight negations he escapes the suffering of transmigration into a world of good and evil ; he attains deliverance.

Finally, the doctrine of this sect is expressed by this aphorism : " Truth is only the state of mind of those who arrive at that point at which the idea of existence and non-existence absolutely disappears, and at which we understand that pure being is not distinct from void, nor void from being." The man whose meditations have raised him to this height of excellence becomes Buddha.

SIXTH SECT, THE *AVATANSKA SUTRA*.

This is the title of its sacred work. There are six different texts of this book, but two of them are kept in the *dragon's palace*, and have never been revealed to man.

The essential principle of this sect is comprised in the study of the absolute state of things, deprived of any special condition, or of the absolute essence of the being. This essence is the same in all. Thus fire and water are the products of this substance, and only differ from each other phenomenally. If we look upon them from the point of view of this universal essence they are perfectly identical. We may say, therefore, that fire is water and water is fire.

This school has, however, five different kinds of progressive teaching, which it delivers according to the capacity and to the degree of advancement of its adherents. Universal unreality is only taught to the second category of listeners. To the fourth it is taught that a man who is free from all false ideas immediately becomes Buddha without any transition whatever. This state manifests itself like a picture shown in a looking-glass. To the fifth category alone is taught the entire doctrine, by showing how unity and plurality are united without any contradiction or difficulty. It is this doctrine alone which displays all the virtues of Buddha. It teaches that when a man is able to practise perfectly one of the exercises necessary to become Buddha he can do them all, and that the duration of one thought is identical with that of the cycle of innumerable centuries.

SEVENTH SECT, THE MOUNTAIN SECT, OR TIEN-TAI.

All the preceding sects came from India, but this one first took its rise in China, near to the mountain of Tien-tai, at the end of the sixth century, and was carried into Japan towards the year 803.

It, also, possesses four distinct doctrines, the first three of which are but *provisional means*, the last one alone giving the *plenitude of light*.

The doctrine of this *plenitude* is founded upon the knowledge of the three truths which make known the true nature of the elements of beings, of which elements there are three thousand—viz., there are ten worlds: 1st, the infernal; 2nd, the world of phantoms; 3rd, of animals; 4th, of demons (*asura*); 5th, of human beings; 6th, of celestial beings (*déva*); 7th, of the *Grāvaka* or disciples; 8th, of the isolated Buddhas; 9th, of the Bodhisattwas, or Buddhas in a state of preparation; 10th, of perfect Buddhas. Each of these worlds possesses the ten qualities of form, nature, substance, strength, action, cause, agent, effect, movement, and final equilibrium, resulting from the nine former ones. All these qualities are inert and invariable.

The ten worlds have ten varieties, not explained, which brings their number to a hundred, and each one of these

having their ten special attributes makes a thousand attributes or elements. Moreover, these thousand elements are distinguished from each other, according to the three kingdoms of nature, which brings their number to three thousand, as we already said.

The three kingdoms with which it deals are :—1st, That of the five aggregates—form, sensation, idea, conception and intelligence. 2nd, That of living beings, or beings composed of the elements above-mentioned. 3rd, That of the earth, or the place which contains all these beings.

These three kingdoms multiplying the 1000 elements makes the required number, 3000. But these 3000 elements all exist together in each idea, the slightest thought comprehends them all.

These three thousand elements or properties are at the same time vacuum, for they are but contingent and endowed with a relative existence, in consequence of their phenomenal manifestation during time ; and also neither existence nor vacuum, but a mean term which expresses both their absence of substance and their phenomenal existence.

These three worlds are not exclusive, but constitute that which is called the inconceivable state of the three states which are inseparably united.

Ignorant people do not understand this, they eternally revolve in the ocean of transmigrations. (We, alas, are among the number of these ignorant ones, for we frankly confess our inability to understand a doctrine which is termed *inconceivable* by its masters themselves. Happily there are degrees of initiation which allow our obtuse minds to arrive by degrees at the final term which is the absolute state, wherein there is neither existence nor vacuum—*Amen !* But the wise ones have no need of these degrees or transitions, they can raise themselves all at once to these salutary heights.)

EIGHTH SECT, THE *MANTRAS*, OR FORMULÆ.

This school possesses the novel peculiarity that it establishes the distinction between *exoteric* doctrine (*i.e.*, exterior doctrine which can be communicated to all the world) and *esoteric* (interior doctrine, or reserved to the initiated or adepts worthy to receive it). Moreover, it has this of good, that it claims to

elevate even the ignorant and vulgar to the state of Buddha, without making them pass through the various conditions imposed by the others. The Buddhas alone, however, understand its mysteries, and this fact it is which has given to this doctrine the name of *mysticism*.

The means by which to attain to the state of Buddha are by following the three great esoteric laws which regulate the essential triad composed of the *body*, the *speech*, and the *mind*.

Our material bodies, born of our progenitors, is composed of six elements—earth, water, fire, wind, ether, and mind. These elements are everywhere present, and constitute all those appearances which are called *beings*; the five first only exist in the mind. The mind is explained in two ways: *across* by the consideration of different objects; *lengthwise* by the consideration of the progress of the mind.

Thought has ten different degrees arranged in the following order:

1st. *Thought in a vulgar man* * in a different birth, in the state of an infernal being, of a ghost, or of an animal. In this state man is a slave to his passions, without intelligence. It is the first step towards rising to a pure and just mind. As soon as the mind makes any progress it passes into the following degree.

2nd. *Thought of a young man wanting intelligence, but self-restrained*—that is to say, of an ignorant man who diligently observes all the moral precepts so as to preserve his body and his speech from every stain. If he cultivates his mind in this manner he will rise to a still higher degree.

3rd. *Thought of a child without fear*, which is the state of an ignorant but pure man, who by practising the precepts is delivered from the three first wicked states. From this comes the name “without fear,” or delivered from all dread. This is already great progress in the practice of mysteries.

4th. *Thought a simple aggregate without the Ego*. Here begin the disciples of the true doctrine. They despoil themselves of all “egoism.”

5th. *Thought which extirpates the germ and the cause of action*. This is the state of the isolated Buddhas, who are

* Literally “mud.”

constantly meditating how to eradicate from their minds and inclinations the very seed and essence of action—viz., passion and inclination itself. The principal means to be used for the accomplishment of this object is the consideration of the non-reality of objects, which exist only as pictures in a looking-glass, or as the moon reflected in water.

6th. *Thought of the great means of liberation for the benefit of others.* The contemplator in this state occupies himself by absorbing into his mind the fundamental truths of Buddhism, especially of those which concern the love of our neighbours and the good which may be done to them. The one fundamental truth is that nothing really exists outside of the mind. When a man arrives thus far he feels an infinite compassion for all living beings, and causes them to attain Nirvâna. How does he do this? We are not told, but it must be by the natural virtue of this compassion, in the same way that electricity projects certain small objects.

7th. *Thought of the negative*, which means that impure thoughts, even passion itself, were originally pure: There are eight confusing thoughts upon this same subject which we will not enter upon. When once they are dispelled the mind opens itself to receive the light, and the sky above the road to deliverance becomes clear and luminous.

8th. *Thought of the one single road without action.* Being the contemplation of a soul deprived of all action and of the necessity of attaining that state.

9th. *Absolute thought of nature without nature itself.* In this state the mind plunges into the absolute in being without existence. Absolute nature being identical with the relative does not regard nature itself.

10th. *Embellished thought of mysteries.* Up to now we have only seen the various ways of becoming Buddha. At this point we at last arrive at this blessed state. To attain it man must discover the source of his own thoughts, then will be revealed to him the mysterious means of becoming Buddha, even while still living. He succeeds in doing so when he acquires meditation, wisdom and compassion, when he discovers that there is in himself a pure mind which may be reclaimed from darkness, but without stain, and which may be despoiled of the veil which envelopes it.

Speech is the mystery of sound, which is produced when form produces a sound. It not only exists in man but also in the animals, in nature, in the wind, and other things.

These mysteries exist all round us and mutually interpenetrate one another in every being.

This is the meditation of Buddha himself; when we succeed in attaining it it is the mystical union, the *Yôga*. We are able to attain this by *perfect reasoning*, which enables us to know the essence of bodies and minds; by *persistent force*, which discovers things outside of this conviction; and by the *acquisition of evidence*, which enables us to penetrate to the origin of our own thoughts. These three means mutually complete and absorb each other.

NINTH SECT, THE CONTEMPLATIVE SCHOOL.

This school is the most eccentric of the *Pure Way*. It possesses this one peculiarity, that it does not rely upon any particular text or book. It is a special transmission, independent of all teaching, and founded upon no words. It only teaches one thing, which is to study the nature of the human mind in itself; and as soon as a man discovers that entirely he becomes Buddha. The other sects err in trying to explain the *inconceivable* by words; for it is impossible to do so. It is for this reason that they fall short and do not succeed in achieving their object. They are not able to divest themselves of the distinction between good and evil; a distinction which is false and purely relative, for true and absolute knowledge has no idea of good or evil.

Bodhidharma, who understood and taught this mystery, did not explain it by words; he understood how impossible it would be to do so, and how inefficacious such means were. No words can explain thought in itself, nor its origin. It can only be understood by those who see nothing and do nothing. This is the way of truth, the true practice, the death of illusion and of all that is not real.

How can a man attain to such a state? The following are the means to make use of:

When we cease to reflect upon good or evil, or any other object in particular, our mind, free from all accidents, from all illusionary phenomena and from all contingencies, returns to

its original basis. Water which is not disturbed or obstructed flows pure from its source. Original thought reproduced is the thought of non-existence without a single attachment to anything whatsoever. Still it must not remain inactive, that would be a greater mistake than the first. While in this primal state the mind is not inactive, like a piece of stone or wood; on the contrary, it disengages itself from all diversity, and then there comes the thought of Nothing, which is perfect illumination.

The history of this sect is a very curious one, if we may believe its disciples. Çakyamûni was at the assembly upon the Vulture Mountain; the divine King Mahâbrahman offered a golden flower to Buddha and asked him to preach the law. Buddha took the golden flower into his hand, rolled it between his fingers, but answered never a word. Not one of those assembled could make out what he meant to do. But Kâçyapa smiled, he had received communication into his mind by *thought*, and he transmitted it in the same manner to Ananda. Thus it passed through the minds of twenty-eight patriarchs. These twenty-eight Bodhidharmas carried it mentally into China in 520, but it was only in 729 that it gained the shores of Japan.

In China it formed two schools, which spread themselves equally over the neighbouring islands.

The northern school adopted the custom of composing verses, by which to retain their religious principles. Its followers recognise in the body the tree of intelligence and compare the mind to a mirror which must be constantly cleaned (polished.)

The southern school denies the existence of anything which bears any resemblance to a tree or a mirror—in fact, existence in general. Considering its doctrine as more profound, this school looks with contempt upon that of the north. In Japan it is divided into seven schools, which are still in existence at present, and holds as its common principle the recognition or search for thought in one's own mind, that thought which is born of itself in the depths of the mind, free from all exterior influence, as the plant is from the seed. The object of the founder of this wonderful system was to protest against the pretensions of the other sects, who all tried

to impose the doctrine contained in their books. Each sect possessed its own, and these formed the foundation of their teaching.

"The more books you have, the more imposed authority," said Bodhidharma. Thought, which is shed into the minds of all intelligent beings, itself supplies the truth if we will only allow it to manifest itself. It does so of itself, without any exterior influences, which violate and alter it by sensation and the passions.

TENTH SECT, THE *NITHI-REN*.

This is the first which took its rise in Japan. It bears the name of its founder. But this Japanese *Nithi-ren* is only a reincarnation of one of Buddha's first disciples, who came back into this world to the Great Isles bearing this name.

Our tenth sect bases its teaching upon the celebrated work, "The Lotus of the Good Law," as does that of *Ten-dai*, but places quite a different interpretation upon it. It is chiefly founded upon the distinction between the *provisional* and the *definite*, as relating to doctrine; between the *anterior* and the *terrestrial* or *actual*, as regards the state of Buddha.

Its provisional doctrine is that preached by Buddha before he taught the "Lotus," which contains the *definitive*. The *anterior* is the knowledge which he possessed during the millions of years which preceded his coming. The *terrestrial* or *actual* is that knowledge which he acquired while living in the world.

Buddha by his provisionary doctrine formed his simple disciples, the isolated Buddhas and Bodhisattwas, and their special rules which are sufficiently known.

It was the terrestrial and definitive teaching which made Buddhas of the Bodhisattwas. The chief point in this doctrine is esoteric, and is the proclaiming of the permanence of Buddha's three bodies: the moral body, the beatified body, and the transformed body.

There are also three laws which should regulate every action. They are called: the object of religion, the Lotus of the Good Law, and the stage upon which to instruct oneself in the precepts of morality. (This stage is the body which bears the actions; the object of the doctrine is the three bodies of

Buddha; the five elements form his moral body; the five aggregates—viz., form, sensation, idea, conception, and knowledge—compose his beatified body; and the six organs of living beings constitute his transformed body.)

“The Lotus of the Good Law” is the title of the book which must be treated with *namo*—“homage” or “adoration”—to show the respect which one bears for the canons of doctrine.

The study of these laws leads to the practice of their instructions, to incalculable meditations, and to practical perfection. Even ignorant men can, by practising it, arrive at the throne of perfect knowledge. “What a depth of ideas is contained in this doctrine,” says M. Fujishima, “and what priceless advantages!” It is certainly very unfortunate that we can make nothing of it!

SECOND CATEGORY.—SECTS OF THE PURE GROUND.

FIRST SECT, CALLED *PURE GROUND*.

Here we enter upon a new ground in which there is hardly anything Buddhistic beyond the name. Its object is still deliverance, and the doctrine of Buddha is still taught as the means by which to attain it; but in reality there are none of his precepts left.

According to the teaching of the preceding schools deliverance is a thing to be gained in this world by the practice of abstinence, meditation, &c. But this school teaches that this happy result is obtainable only after death, by being born again in the *Pure Ground*, and that to attain this end we must simply continue to invoke the name of Buddha to the end of our lives.

It is difficult to grasp the cause and effect of the doctrine of the *Holy Way*. On the contrary, that of the *Pure Earth* is quite simple and accessible; it is sailing in a boat as opposed to a tramp on foot. In the beginning the first was necessary, but after a certain time the second was quite sufficient.

But what is this *Pure Earth* where one attains to final happiness? It is the western world where Amitábha Buddha lives; that is to say, Buddha resplendent, of infinite brightness. It is perfectly pure, freed from all falsehood, and hence

its name. But those only who desire to go there can be born again. This world here below is the effect of the actions of all beings; we are obliged to come into it, even though we should not wish to do so; but after having been here, we can be transmigrated into the other, that is after death. For this reason it is necessary to detach oneself from this world as soon as possible by thinking of nothing but the Master of that happy ultra-terrestrial abode, of that paradise of delights which is called *Sukhāvati*, or "the happy earth." It is by professing entire belief in the words of Buddha, without making exception of any point, however insignificant it may be, and by invoking his name, that one attains "Happiness." The slightest doubt excludes us from it without remission. "In the great ocean of Buddha's law the only means of gaining an entrance is faith," says a patriarch of the school.

It is rather strange that this faith does not by any means oblige us to put in practice the precepts of Buddha, and that while firmly believing everything that he taught, it is not necessary to put any of it into practice, and one may act as if he had said nothing at all.

We will moreover remark that this Amitābha Buddha is not by any means the founder of Buddhism, but a person who was created long after him in imitation of the Hindu Brahma. His paradise appears to be nothing but a clumsy imitation of the Christian one.

We have already mentioned that to enter the Pure Ground we must have repeated the name of Amitābha Buddha till the end of our days, but all the books of this sect do not even exact as much as this. Thus in the canonical book of Amita (*Amitāyus-sutra*) it is said that if a man retains this sacred name in his memory for one day, or for seven days, Buddha will come to seek him at the moment of his death to lead him into the "World of Happiness." It would be impossible to be more indulgent than this. Thus the entire practice of this school consists in repeating *Namō Amitābhāya Buddhāya*, "homage to Amitābha Buddha."

TWELFTH AND LAST SCHOOL.—THE TRUE SECT OF THE PURE EARTH.

This title indicates that we have here a variety of the preceding sect. And indeed its object is equally to gain the

paradise of Amitâbha. But it offers several ways by which one can attain this, and all the schools do not possess the best way. Some prescribe good works and the mortifying of the passions, others admit only the necessity of the repetition of the single name Amitâbha with the term "homage" or "adoration" attached to it—*namô*. All this is provisional. That which is truly definitive or certain is to *repose entirely upon the absolute power of the original wish*; this is the only means by which we can be re-born immediately into the Pure Earth—the world of delights. What is this *original wish* which has such a marvellous effect? It is the forty-eighth of those which were professed by Amitâbha himself. It runs thus: "I would not attain to perfect knowledge if any one of living beings who believes in me with his inmost thought and with the desire to be born again into my paradise, and who repeats my name ten times in his thoughts, were not born into my Paradise Sukhâvati."

Thus Amitâbha expressed his desire to save all living beings who believe in him, and this compassion induced him to practise good works by which he accumulated merit to save living beings. The other subsequent Buddhas imitated his generosity and thus procured for mortals the means of their salvation by applying their merits.

Therefore to attain to perfect happiness one must place entire confidence in this wish of Amitâbha by purifying one's mind from all other thoughts, and by enlivening one's faith in the power of this wish, and by desiring the Pure World. Truth in thought, faith, and desire; these are the three conditions necessary, which all amount to one alone—viz., *faith*.

We are incapable of purifying our hearts and our minds; still it is necessary that we should do so. We shall succeed in so doing by great faith in the merits of the fundamental Buddha, and by invoking him in our minds. Some constantly repeat his name; others only do so rarely. But this is quite immaterial if one but possesses this faith which is a continual invocation. This school does not prescribe any particular duties to the priest or bonzes. It does not oblige the faithful to renounce all earthly desires. But these people must perform their ordinary duties, and must know nothing of theft, injustice, and other great sins. It employs no prayers nor magic charms.

It is impossible not to recognise in this sketch ideas which are essentially Christian, though entirely falsified—our helplessness to gain salvation without the help of a Superior Being, and the application of the merits of this celestial Being to ourselves. We find in it the saving faith of the Lutherans, though without the detestable principles: *crede fortiter et pecca fortius*. Asia has never imagined such a maxim as that.

Such are the principal Buddhist sects which exist in Japan, the most of which has been brought to it from India through China. There are still a number of others, as subdivisions of these; but the differences which distinguish them are of too little importance for us to mention them in this general outline.

Those among our readers who have read these pages with attention, and who after so doing think of the efforts made to convert Christians to Buddhism, cannot but recognise that this Buddhism, so much praised in Europe and America, possesses many false, ridiculous and odious sides, which are carefully hidden so as to present to view only the charitable side of the religion of Gôtama.

Unfortunate blindness! This charity we shall find, not ridiculously exaggerated, nor yet falling short at certain points, but perfect in every particular, in the Christian religion. Moreover in Buddhism it rests upon no serious principle whatever, upon no sanction which urges man to observe its precepts. No laws, no judge, no remunerator, but a law of which one can discover neither the cause, the nature, nor the effects. And it is to this doctrine that men would give the preference before the wise and explicit teaching of Christianity! And this is precisely what is aimed at.

What is wanted is a doctrine which we can excogitate ourselves, which can be presented with a certain amount of dignity, but which, in reality, imposes no obligation.

But let us not linger upon so sad a subject, which besides is outside the scope of our article. Our task is ended.

C. DE HARLEZ.

ART. III.—TWO MEDIÆVAL CHRISTMAS OFFICES.

STRANGE mingling of the beautiful and the grotesque, of deep and wondrous poetry and jingling doggrel rhymes, of noble histories and old legends—such, whether embodying the official rites of Rouen, or Paris, or Salisbury, or Auxerre, was that marvellous epitome of mediæval devotion called the Breviary.

But, how like those ancient prayer-books are to their fantastic capitals, their cunningly wrought and intricate borders! How faithfully do they reflect the age in which they were written, when quaintness and beauty, rudeness and delicacy, discord and harmony, went hand in hand.

The invention of printing, and the liturgical reforms of St. Pius V. and his successors, undertaken, as they were, at an epoch when the new learning and the renascence of classic art had engendered a not unnatural revulsion from everything which savoured of the Middle Ages, were destined to change all this.

But though the new printed tomes had, doubtless, gained in clearness and precision, they had for ever lost the rich colour and gilded magnificence of the old manuscripts; while the church's local offices, though invested with a dignity and decorum which they had not, perhaps, known for centuries, were at the same time in a measure deprived of some of that sweetness and unction so characteristic of the literary compositions of the Ages of Faith; nor can it be denied that along with the dust and chaff much good wheat was cast to the winds.

The purpose, then, of our present essay is to gather up and lay before the reader a handful of this scattered grain.

Of all modern breviary offices few are richer or more beautiful than those which cluster round the great festival of the Nativity, yet after all, even these, beautiful as they undoubtedly are, form but a meagre substitute for the forgotten Christmas offices of more than one pre-Reformation service-book.

Two of such, we would examine in the following pages. The "Illustrious Use of Salisbury" furnishes one; the old Flemish rite of St. Donat's at Bruges is the source from which we have culled the other. The Sarum extracts are taken from Procter and Wordsworth's reprint of "The Great Breviary of 1531," the St. Donat's, from a small 8vo manual preserved in the Bruges municipal library—*Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie sancti Donatiani Brugen*. Neither the publisher's name, nor the date of publication, appears on the title-pages of this work, but 1520 is stamped in gold on the backs of the leather covers of each part; and although the present binding is not that in which the book first appeared, the general character of the printing, &c., would indicate 1520 as the approximate date.

Thus each of the offices under consideration stands as it did in the early years of the sixteenth century.

The Use of Sarum, and the Use of Bruges, like almost all the ancient local Uses of Western Christendom, derive their origin from Rome; and, as the modern Roman Breviary retains, for the most part, its ancient form, a certain family likeness between it, and the rites in question, may be expected. This, we shall see, exists in a very marked degree, in the case of the two offices before us. Indeed, so far as concerns structure, the differences are almost inappreciable. The following are the most noteworthy.

Both rites add a responsory after the little chapter at Vespers, and after the ninth lesson at Matins, the latter followed by the solemn chanting of the Dominical genealogy; both open Lauds with an initiatory *Ÿ* and *R* before the *Deus in adjutorium*, and both make a special commemoration of Our Lady at that office and at Vespers. Moreover, Bruges chants *Gloria Patri* at each of her nocturnal responsories, adds a sequence after the third, changes the position of the hymn at Lauds, and, in accordance with her usual custom, altogether omits the Matin hymn; while Salisbury inserts a double sequence at Lauds between the Collect and the *Benedicamus*.

In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini ad primas Vesperas.

Make ready, O Israel, to meet thy God, for, lo, salvation shall swiftly come to thee from the Lord; and He shall break off thy heavy yoke and loosen the bonds of thine iniquity: He shall strengthen the mountains

and give life to the winds, and proclaim His word to the children of men, and in the morning ye shall see His glory.

In words, such as these, the canons of the old collegiate church of St. Donat were wont to proclaim, on Christmas Eve, the approaching birthday of Jesus Christ.

The passage forms the Vesper chapter, and its aptness cannot be gainsaid, but the phrasing occurs nowhere consecutively in Holy Writ. It is rather one of those centos or Biblical mosaics, in which the mediæval liturgist so delighted, made up of a variety of scriptural sentences adroitly dovetailed together into one harmonious whole. The Sarum chapter is taken from Isaias ix. 2: *Populus qui ambulabat*, &c. A rubric directs that it should be said by the bishop standing in his accustomed place and vested in a silken cope.

In both rites the responsory is made up of the two short sentences inverted, which now serve for the R only of the second responsory at Matins, on the vigil of the feast.

The hymn in each case is different from ours. Bruges ordains *A solis ortus cardine*, Sarum the beautiful *Veni redemptor omnium* of St. Ambrose, a hymn which still, according to Dominican usage, forms part of the Church's Christmas liturgy. The following translation is by Neale; it very faithfully adheres to the sense and the rhythm of the original:—

* Come, Thou Redeemer of the earth,
Come, testify Thy Virgin-birth,
All lands admire—all times applaud;
Such is the birth that fits a God.

Begotten of no human will,
But of the Spirit, mystic still,
The word of God, in flesh array'd,
The promis'd fruit to man display'd.

Hymnus,

Veni redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum virginis,
Miretur omne seculum:
Talis docet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine
Sed mystico spiramine
Verbum Dei factum Caro,
Fructusque ventris floruit.

The virgin womb that burthen gain'd,
 With virgin honour all unstain'd ;
 The banners then of virtue glow,
 God in His temple dwells below.

Proceeding from His chamber free,
 The royal hall of chastity,
 Giant of twofold substance straight
 His destined way he runs elate.

From God the Father He proceeds,
 To God the Father back He speeds ;
 Proceeds—as far as very hell ;
 Speeds back—to light ineffable.

O equal to Thy Father, Thou !
 Gird on Thy fleshly mantle now :
 The weakness of our mortal state
 With deathless might invigorate.

Thy cradle here shall glitter bright,
 And darkness breathe a newer light ;
 Where endless faith shall shine serene,
 And twilight never intervene.

All laud to God the Father be,
 All laud, Eternal Son, to Thee,
 All laud, as is for ever meet,
 To God the blessed Paraclete. Amen.

Alvus tumescit virginis,
 Claustra pudoris permanent,
 Vexilla virtutum micant,
 Versatur in templo Deus.

Procedens e thalamo suo,
 Pudoris aula regia,
 Geminæ gygas substantiæ:
 Alacris ut currat viam.

Egressus ejus a Patre
 Regressus ejus ad Patrem,
 Excursus usque ad inferos,
 Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Æqualis æterno Patri
 Carnis trophæo accingere,
 Infirmi nostri corporis,
 Virtute firmans perpetim.

Præsepe jam fulget tuum,
 Lumenque nox spirat novum :
 Quod nulla nox interpollat :
 Fideque jugi luceat.

Deo Patri sit gloria,
 Ejusque Soli Filio
 Cum Spiritu paraclito,
 Et nunc et in perpetuum. Amen.

The Y and R following the hymn in both rites are identical—*Tanquam sponsus*, but whereas Sarum particularly ordains that they should be sung *Sine Alleluia*, Bruges no less emphatically enjoins the addition of the old Hebrew cry of triumph. Opinion, then, would seem to have been divided on this head in the sixteenth century.

The Psalms which Salisbury chants are the same she almost always chooses for the eves of her great festivals, viz.:

1. Laudate pueri.
2. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.
3. Lauda anima.
4. Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus.
5. Laudate Jerusalem.

For 3 and 4 Bruges substitutes *Laudate Nomen* (Ps. 134) and *Exaltabo Te* (Ps. 144). For the rest she follows Sarum.

As to the antiphons, we sing them still, but the order of their arrangement varies in each case, and in each case differently. To particularise further would be tedious. Suffice it to add that with Rome's third psalm antiphon, *Complēti sunt dies*, Bruges commemorates Our Lady, that she supplies the vacancy thus made in her psalm antiphons by a slightly different reading of the passage, *Cum ortus fuerit*, which we sing at the *Magnificat*, and that for her *Magnificat* antiphon she employs a scriptural cento which does not appear in the Roman Breviary. It presents, however, no very nctable features.

We next come to Collects. The Church of St. Donat may be fairly said to have luxuriated in the wealth and variety of her Collects. Three, four, five, and even more enrich all her greater festivals, and no less than six, exclusive of the Commemoration prayers, fall to the share of Christmas Day.

The short formula with which she sums up her Vesper office on the Vigil of the feast; making, as it does, alike those without the pale, and those who are of the household of the faith, participate in the charity of her supplication, is especially appropriate:—*Præsta quesumus misericors Deus: ut ad suscipiendum Filii Tui singulare nativitatis mysterium: et mentes credentium preparentur et non credentium corda subdantur.*

The Collect at the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin is the *Deus qui de B.M.*, V. etc. of Roman use.

As for Sarum, she enjoins the Collect of the Vigil: *Deus qui nos redemptionis*. This was her invariable rule on the eves of all vigiled feasts.

While the rubrics of the Bruges use give hardly any indications as to ritual observance, those of Sarum, on this head, are rich in detail.

Thus we learn, that it was customary for the bishop, or the dean, to begin the first antiphon at Vespers, the ecclesiastic who ranked next in dignity the second, his immediate inferior the third, and so on, for the rest; that this rule was observed throughout the entire office for psalm antiphons; but for the reading of the lessons, and chanting of the responsorial intonations, the order was reversed, and the lower clergy took precedence of the higher; and furthermore, that the antiphon to the *Magnificat* was begun by the bishop, if he were in choir, or failing him by the highest ecclesiastical dignitary present, and sung throughout both before and after the canticle.

This doubling of the *Magnificat* antiphon was not peculiar to Christmas Day, it was customary, the closing vesper rubric informs us, on almost all great festivals, and when this was the case the altars in the chapels round the choir were incensed after the incensing of the high altar, and the manner in which this was done we gather from the same rubric.

During the singing of the hymn, two thurifers entered the chancel, each bearing in his hands a silken cope, which he presented to the officiating clergyman, who, retaining one for himself, handed the other to the priest who was to incense the high altar. When this had been done both priests proceeded to incense the other altars, each with his own thurible. The celebrant, leaving the choir by the northern gates, and preceded by one cerofer and a sacrist bearing his wand of office, incensed the altars of St. Martin, St. Catherine, the Holy Apostles and the Blessed Trinity, while his assistant similarly attended, passing through the southern gates, incensed the altars of St. Nicholas, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Stephen.

Ad Completorium.

Unlike Rome, whose Compline office hardly ever changes,

Bruges and Sarum present considerable variety in the details of their closing hour.

The former has a special antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis*—*Glorificamus te Dei genetricis quia ex te natus est, &c.*—and a special *Ÿ* at the Preces—*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Deus Dominus et illuxit nobis*—a verse which Sarum more appropriately sings at Lauds.

There is also a special Collect which is worthy of attention : *Respice nos misericors Deus et mentibus clementer humanis nascente Christo summæ veritatis lumen ostende.*

A peculiar feature of this use is the abundance of its proper Compline hymns, many of which are very beautiful. That selected for Christmas night, by Venantius Fortunatus, is especially so. It forms no part, however, of either the Sarum or Roman breviaries. We offer the following translation :—

* Cast off is cruel Satan's yoke,
At length Redemption draweth nigh,
Let ev'ry cycle testify
That life's great recompense hath come.

For lo ! Isaiah's mystic song
In Mary's story finds its fame
Her glory Gabriel's lips proclaim,
God's grace o'erflows within her heart.

A Word-born Infant all divine
Sleeps peacefully upon her breast,
Earth cannot hold Him, yet her arms
Cradle His tiny form at rest.

A fragrant blossom, wondrous fair,
Bursts forth from Jesse's time-gnarled root.

* Agnoscat omne seculum
Venisse vite premium,
Post hostis asperi jugum
Apparuit redemptio.

Esayas que cecinit
Completa sunt in virgine :
Annunciavit angelus
Sanctus replevit Spiritus.

Maria ventre concepit
Verbi fidelis semine ;
Quem totus orbis non bajulat,
Portant puella viscera.

Radix Jesse jam floruit :
Et virga fructum edidit,

O sweetness of the Virgin fruit,
Which that pure blossom meetly bears !

He, the great author of all light,
Who with His Father made the skies,
Swathed by His Mother, lowly lies
In infant bonds within a stall.

Though His the decade of the law,
Though all things own His sovereign sway,
To wear man's form He'll not say nay,
With man He'll meekly bear the yoke.

That which the first man's will had marr'd
The second man doth re-create.
What pride cast down, humility
Doth set up in its former state.

Lo ! now is born life-giving light,
And death gives place, and conquer'd night.
Draw nigh, ye nations, frankly own
That Mary's Son is God alone.

The Sarum office has proper antiphons for the psalms and the *Nunc dimittis*. Both of them are taken almost word for word from the Gospels. *Be ye ready*, runs the first, *like to men who wait for their Lord, when he shall return from the wedding ;* and the second is no less appropriate : *Let all men watch and pray ; for ye know not when the time may be ; watch ye, therefore, for ye know not when the Lord of the house shall come, at*

Fecunda partum protulit
Et Virgo mater permanet.

Presepe poni pertulit
Qui lucis auctor extitit ;
Cum Patre celos condidit,
Sub matre pannos induit.

Legem dedit qui seculo ;
Cujus decem precepta sunt.
Dignando factus est homo :
Sub legis esse vinculo.

Adam vetus quod polluit,
Adam novus hoc abluit,
Tumens quod ille dejecit,
Humilissimus hic erigit.

Jam nata lux est et salus,
Fugata nox et victa mors ;
Venite, gentes, credite :
Deum Maria protulit.

even, or at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, lest coming on a sudden He find you sleeping.

One of the rubrics of this service incidentally makes us acquainted with an interesting piece of Sarum choir discipline, viz., that on the festivals of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Holy Innocents, the choice of the tunes to which the hymns were sung devolved on the persons whose duty it was, severally, to begin them, to wit, as the rubric quaintly puts it, the priests, the Levites, and the children.

In Die Nativitatis ad Matutinas.

Animated by that dramatic spirit, so dear to liturgists of the Middle Ages, the Church of Sarum in her first nocturnal responsory with solemn pomp proclaimed Christ's Virgin birth.

The impressive ceremony with which this declaration was made, is sketched for us in the rubrics which precede and follow it.

Here we are told, how two canons vested in surplices chanted the intonation from the choir steps, and how immediately afterwards, returning to their stalls, they then completed the response.

"On this day," they cried out, "the King of Heaven vouchsafed to be born for us of a pure Virgin; that He might call back lost man to His heavenly kingdom. Rejoice, ye angelic hosts, rejoice and be very glad, for eternal salvation hath dawned on the human race."

Meanwhile, five choir-children, with their heads veiled in white amices and with lighted tapers in their hands, had taken up their position on an elevated spot—*loco eminenti*—possibly the triforium, or perhaps a platform erected for the purpose—behind the high altar, and, when the canons had finished their anthem, turning themselves round to the people they at once took up the theme, and all together sang, *Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will, for e'en now hath eternal light dawned on Adam's fallen race.*

We have already seen that both Sarum and Bruges are enriched with nine nocturnal responsories. Among them, in each case seven of Rome's eight are included; but whereas Sarum leaves out the sixth—that sublime rhapsody in which Rome acknowledges her utter inability to duly praise the holy

and immaculate virginity of God's most pure Mother—Bruges passes over the fifth—*Beata Dei Genetrix*.

The omission, however, is in each case supplied by a single responsory, which presents the same train of thought, and is hardly less beautiful than the *Sancta Immaculata*.

- *R. Thee do the angels praise, O Mother of Jesus, most holy,
 Who in thy virginal breast didst cherish thy God and Creator,
 By the blest message conceived which Gabriel's angelic lips brought
 thee
 That above all other women thou mightest be called most blessed.
 Y. Him didst thou bear in a stable, and cradle low in a manger,
 Even the longed-for Christ, the adored of myriads of Angels.†

It should be noted that although each of the three uses we are considering follows a different order in the arrangement of its responsories, Bruges, in this instance, more nearly resembles Sarum than Rome. The order of these two sets of responsories, in fact, is almost identical.

The remaining non-Roman responsory in each case follows the third lesson.

That enjoined by Bruges is very lengthy, containing no less than three versicles and a farced *Gloria Patri*, in addition to the responds, and is followed by a sequence. The whole composition though quaint is not without merit. It may be rendered in English thus:

- R. From Heav'n He cometh, true God, of the Father born,
 Enters his castle, and that man may know His face,
 Puts on the robe of flesh which Adam once had worn,
 And through the ever-closed door, thus clad goes out,
 E'en God and Man, the light and life of all the earth.

- * R. Te laudant angeli, sancta Dei genetrix :
 Quæ virum non cognovisti, et Dominum in tuo utero bajulasti :
 Concepisti per aurem Dominum nostrum.
 Ut benedicta dicaris inter omnes mulieres
 Y. Ipsum genuisti et in præsepe posuisti :
 Quem adorat multitudo angelorum.
 Ut benedicta, etc.
 Gloria Patri, etc.
 Ut benedicta, etc.

- † (1) R. Descendit de celis Deus verus a Patre genitus,
 Introivit per uterum Virginis nobis ut appareat visibilis.
 Indutus formam prothoparentis Ade.
 Et exivit per clausam portam Deus et homo lux et vita.

- Y. O God almighty, Founder of the universe,
 Bow down thine ear to hearken to thy children's cry.
 Break off their fetters, set sin's struggling bondmen free,
 On this glad day which sheddeth light o'er all the earth.
 O wondrous depth of God the Father's tender love,
 Which now doth give to man, arrayed in man's own shape,
 E'en veiled in virgin flesh, His sole-begotten Son.
- Y. See, like a bridegroom from His chamber, coming forth
 Through ever-closed doors the God-Man Jesus Christ,
 Most Glorious Sun which giveth life to all the earth.
- Y. O Christ, preserve Thy flock, which, having taken flesh
 From gentle Mary's form, blood-bought, Thou didst redeem,
 Through death thus giving light and life to all the earth.
- Y. To Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God Most High,
 Whose Sovereign will doth order Heav'n and earth and Hell,
 Be glory in the Highest, honour, laud, and might.
- Y. See, like a bridegroom from his chamber coming forth
 Through ever-closed doors, the God-Man Jesus Christ,
 Most Glorious Sun which giveth life to all the earth.

SEQUENCE.

Moved with compassion for His creatures' wretched plight,
 Mercy's great Monarch, humbly taking servile garb,
 Girds on man's form, and cleanses Adam's guilt-stained soul.
 Great God, bewailing that Thy noble handiwork,
 Wrought in Thine image, grand and free, death-struck lies low,
 By Satan's wile's undone, a shattered, broken, wreck!
 Nor man nor angel gave Him life, Word-born is He,
 And thus from Heav'n He comes to earth, most highest God,

- Y. Factor orbis Deus nos famulos exaudi clamantes ad Te ;
 Nos et nostra crimina laxa die ista lucifera,
 Fabrice mundi.
 O quanta Dei clementia Patris ;
 Cujus natus nobis datus erit aula virginea
 Nube carne sumpta.
- Y. Tanquam sponsus Dominus procedens de thalamo suo
 Et exivit per clausam portam etc.
- Y. Familiam salva Christe tuam quam natus alma de Maria
 redemisti
 Morte tua reparato Fabrico Mundi.
- Y. Sit in excelsis altissimo Deo celestia terrestria suo qui (?)
 Gubernat imperio honor et virtus laus et gloria Patris et
 Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

SEQUENTIA.

- (2) Facture condolens forma servi sumpta Rex clemens
 Humilis carnem induit culpam laxans primi Parentis.
 Miserans plasma tuum Deitas hominem similem quem tibi
 Fecerat fraude hostis, incurruisse mortem discrimina.
 Quem non homo non angelus vite formaret.

To heal again the blighted stock, which He Himself
Once made all fair to see, in perfect beauty shrined,
Rejoice, to-day is born earth's needed Ransomer.

It may be interesting to note that a slightly different reading of the above response, followed by the second verse only, is still retained in the breviaries of the Dominican and Benedictine orders.

The corresponding passage in the Salisbury breviary, though similar in thought and expression, is not identical with the Bruges responsory. Equally quaint and equally beautiful, it is possibly peculiar to England:—

- * R. Lo! He came down from Heaven,
Sent forth by the will of His Father.
Through the ear of the Virgin He entered our land,
Arrayed in a vesture of purple,
And He went out through the golden gate,
The glory and light of all nations.
V. The Lord is like unto a bridegroom,
Coming forth from His chamber.
R. And He went out through the golden gate
The whole earth's brightness and splendour.
V. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.
R. The Light and the Life of all nations.

While in each case the passages selected for the lessons are drawn from the same authors as those which Rome employs, the Sarum passages are longer, the Bruges shorter than the corresponding lesson in the Roman Breviary.

The rubrics inserted between the lessons give several interesting details of Sarum ritual.

Thus we learn that all lectors and cantors at Vespers, at

Sed solus verbigena de cœlis in hunc ergo altissimus mundum,
Venit; ut quos formaverat redimeret;
Natus hodie redemptor necessarius. Fabrice Mundi.

- * R. Descendit de cœlis
Missus ab arce Patris,
Introivit per aurem Virginis in regionem nostram
Indutus stola purpurea.
Et exivit per auream portam
Lux et decus universæ de fabricæ mundi
V. Tanquam sponsus Dominus procedens de thalamo suo.
R. Et exivit, &c.
V. R. Gloria Patri, &c.
R. Lux et decus, &c.

Matins, and at Mass, after they had read or sung, knelt before the bishop to receive his blessing ; that on Christmas night it was customary during the reading of the second lesson at every nocturn, for some priest, chosen in turn from either side the chancel, to vest himself in a silken cope, and incense the altar, while at the same time an acolyte incensed the choir ; that the canons who read the seventh, eighth, and ninth lessons, wore silk copes, and that this was likewise customary on the feast of the Epiphany, the Purification, the Blessed Trinity, Corpus Christi, and the Assumption and Nativity of Our Lady, as well as on the feast of Holy Relics, and on all church dedication festivals ; that on All Saints' Day, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday, all the lessons were so read, and lastly, that while the ninth responsory was being chanted, the deacon, accompanied by the sub-deacon, the thurifer, the cerofer, and an acolyte bearing a cross—all solemnly vested—incensed the altar, and then, after having first received the blessing of the celebrant, proceeded down the centre of the chancel to the pulpit, where he chanted the genealogy of Our Lord according to St. Matthew. This custom does not seem to have been peculiar to Salisbury ; we have already seen that it was usual at Bruges, and to the present day the Dominican office still enjoins it.

Whether we have here a survival of a still more ancient usage, once in vogue on all great festivals, would perhaps be difficult to determine, but the fact that the office for the Epiphany, which more than any other has preserved its antique form, presents, according to Sarum and Dominican use, a like peculiarity, and Benedictine custom, which enjoins on all festivals of twelve lessons, the reading of the Gospel for the day after the *Te Deum*, would seem to indicate that this is so.

Ad Laudes.

"Immediately after Mass," runs the Sarum rubric which precedes Lauds, "let the celebrant stand before the altar and say this verse—*ſ The Word was made flesh, Alleluia. R And dwelt among us, Alleluia*—and then before he shall withdraw from the altar let him say—*Deus in adjutorium, &c.*, but if the *Executor officii* shall not have celebrated, then he shall say the above from his own choir-stall." Thus, on

Christmas Day, the Church of Salisbury opened her morning service.

There are but two or three points in which this office differs from our own. In the first place another passage of Scripture (Titus ii. 11, 12) is chosen for the little chapter. Next a different *Y* and *R* follow the hymn—*Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. The Lord is God and He hath shone upon us*—words full of meaning, and singularly appropriate on any day of the year, when we take into consideration the hour at which Lauds was sung—sunrise, the peculiar construction of English churches, with their vast east windows, and the almost reverential awe with which primitive and mediæval Christianity regarded the sun, which for them was a figure and type of Christ, doubly so, on the morning of Christmas, when they betoken, in a special manner, the first dawning of the Sun of Righteousness.

We have, moreover, after the collect (and this, perhaps, is the most important variety of all) an interpolation utterly unknown in the breviary of to-day—a species of sequence or prose, which the rubric calls a *Benedicamus*, probably because the rhyming verses of which it is composed were originally written on the *Neuma* of the days *Benedicamus*, much in the same way as Mass sequences were written on the *Alleluia* *Neuma*. It consists of two quaint strophes of eight verses each, the first of which was sung by two canons vested in surplices. We venture thus to render the words of their song:—

God's Word made flesh, on this glad day,
From the pure Shrine, wherein He lay,
Goes forth, man's debt of sin to pay;
To lead him back to Heaven's way
Whom Satan's guile had made to stray.
Angels singing, passing sweet,
Heav'nly canticles most meet,
Fitly thus God's advent greet.

Then two other canons, from the opposite side of the choir, likewise clad in white surplices, lifting up their voices made response:—

Lo! a messenger of light
Bathed in glory, shining bright,
Meets the shepherds' startled sight,
Tells of peace mid sin's dark night.

Christ, great Shepherd, peace bestow
 On thy children here below,
 Wakening them from sin and woe
 By angels sweetly singing,
 Thine advent meetly hymning,
 Their homage duly bringing.

Verbum Patris hodie
 Processit ex Virgine,
 Venit nos redimere,
 Et cœlesti patriæ
 Voluit nos reducere;
 Virtutes angelicæ
 Cum canore jubilo
 Grates reddant Dōmino.

Refulgens pastoribus
 Nunciavit angelus
 Pacem pacis nuncius;
 'Tu pastor egregie
 Pacem nobis tribue:
 Filios et instrue
 Redemptori debitas
 Jubilando gratias.

The above verses were not said instead of, but in addition to, the ordinary *Benedicamus*. This, as usual, completes the service.

Lastly, there is a commemoration of Our Lady, which the rubric calls *Memoria de Sancta Maria ad Consummationem totius mysterii Incarnationis*. It consists of an antiphon—*Ecce completa sunt*, &c., the *Ÿ* an *R* *Post partum*, &c., and the collect *Deus qui salutis æternæ*, &c. They are all contained in the Roman Breviary.

The Bruges office of Lauds, though resembling very nearly the corresponding Sarum use, in the following respects is different.

In the first place, we have the unusual position of the chapter—*Populus qui sedit*, &c., a passage other, be it observed, than that chosen either by Rome or Sarum—which instead of preceding the hymn, is placed between it and the *Ÿ* and *R*.

Secondly, the farced *Benedicamus*, indulged in by Sarum is omitted; then a different *Ÿ* and *R* is said at the Memorial of Our Lady—*Ÿ* Unto us a Son is born. *R* Unto us a child is given, Alleluia—and lastly another hymn is chosen—*Corde*

natus ex Parentis, a cento from the ninth hymn of the *Catherinon* (Prudentius). It appears in neither Roman nor Sarum choir-books, but a slightly different arrangement was sung by York and Hereford. The following is a translation of the Bruges version :—

Of His Father's heart begotten, ere the universe began,
Alpha and Omega call Him; very fount and term is He
Of all things which are, or have been, or shall be for evermore,
E'en throughout eternity.

When He spake they were created, at His word all things were made,
Ocean's vastness, earth, and Heaven, with the creatures they contain,
Sun, and moon, and stars, and planets, sailing in the depths of space,
Till all things shall pass away.

O that childbirth, truly blessed, when a virgin Mother, made
Fruitful by God's Holy Spirit, gave salvation to mankind,
When the light of Christ's dear visage, henceforth beaming evermore,
For the first time shone on man.

Let the firmament of Heaven thunder out its mighty psalm,
And ye sweet-toned angel choirs add to it your antiphon,
Let no creature's tongue keep silence, let all voices jubilate,
Hymning God eternally.

Let the old man's feeble quavering mingle with the children's choir,
Let the youth, and let the virgin, join their joyous canticle,
Let young maidens with their mothers raise their simple hearts in song,
Lauding Christ for evermore.

Ad Horas.

Broadly speaking the Sarum Little Hours are identical with our own, but although of the passages of Scripture which form their chapters and responsories there is hardly one which is not also to be found in the Roman Office, the order in which they are arranged is not always quite the same as with us.

We refrain from entering further into detail, as the discrepancies are so minute, and at the same time so numerous, that any account of them would be tedious to the reader, and, certainly, out of place in a magazine article.

The above remarks apply equally to the Bruges Hours, but here we have two important peculiarities which must not be passed over, namely, that proper hymns and proper collects are provided for each of them.

The hymns are taken from the Compline hymn already quoted, *Agnoscat omne Seculum*. The first two verses are appointed to be sung at Prime, the two following at Tierce, the next two at Sext, and the last two at None, the Doxology being added in each case.

The following are the collects: No. 1 was said at Prime, Tierce, and Compline; No. 2 at Sext, and No. 3 at None:—

(1) Respice nos misericors Deus: et mentibus clementer nascente Christo summe divinitatis (or veritatis) lumen ostende. Per eundem &c.

(2) Largire quesumus Domine famulis tuis fide et sinceritatis augmentum: ut qui de nativitate Filii tui Domini nostri gloriantes: et adversa mundi Te gubernante non sentiant, et que temporali celebrare desiderant sine fine percipiant. Per eundem &c.

(3) Deus qui per Beate Marie Virginis perpetue sine humana concupiscentia procreatum in Filii tui membra venientes paternis fecisti prejudiciis non teneri presta quesumus: ut hujus creature novitate suscepta vetustatis antique contagiis eruamur. Per eundem &c.

Ad Secundas Vesperas.

The Sarum office of Second Vespers very nearly resembles our own. The following are the only variations:—

A responsory—the *Verbum caro*, which follows Rome's 9th lesson—is inserted between the chapter and the hymn; *A solis ortus* takes the place of our *Jesu Redemptor*; and instead of the Roman *Ÿ* and *R* *Notum fecit &c.*, we have *Benedictus qui venit, &c.*

Bruges, with the following exceptions, is identical with Sarum:—

For the little chapter, we have *Verbum caro . . . veritatis*; the *Ÿ* and *R* are *Tanquam sponsus Dominus*, there is a different antiphon to the *Magnificat*—

Lux orta est super nos; qui natus est hodie Salvator, Alleluia—have we here the origin of our *Hodie Christus natus est*?—and a different collect—*Omnipotens, Sempiternus Deus, Creator humane reformatorque creature: quam Unigenitus Tuus in utero perpetue Virginis assumpsit: respice nos propicius: ut Filii Tui incarnatione suscepta, inter ipsius membra mereamur numerari. Per eundem.*

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

ART. IV.—A GASCON CITY AND ITS CHURCH.

IN a corner of Gascony far away from the track of the ordinary tourist, stands the city of Auch, the general aspect of which recalls to the mind of a traveller some of the ancient cities of central Italy. Like these Etruscan prototypes this mediæval town crowns the summit of a precipitous hill. The picturesque group of its towers, the houses with their flat red-tiled roofs—many of them with open loggie abloom with flowers—the classic monumental flight of steps laid out in terraces and adorned with fountains, ascending from the river's bank to the top of the cliff, the hanging gardens from the steep slope below the palace, and the surrounding circle of low conical hills enclosing the valley—all carry one's thoughts back to Umbria and Tuscany.

Occupying a splendid site on the edge of the high and steep bank above the muddy and sluggish Gers, whose aspect to-day corresponds with the satirical eulogy written on this stream thirteen hundred years ago by Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers in his poem "*de Egircio flumine*," is the low and massive cathedral, built of dark brown stone. It is a matter for regret that it lacks a lofty choir, which is wanted to add dignity to its structure. The ridge of roof does not appear above the walls, and its solid buttresses give the building an appearance of squat solidity, which is only broken by the slender watch-tower adjoining the sacristy—the one remnant left of the church's once extensive fortifications.

The Roman settlement made here soon after the invasion of Gaul (B.C. 56), was built on the flat ground in the valley on the right bank of the river, and received its name of Augusta-Auscorum after the visit of the Emperor Augustus, who halted in it on his return from Spain.

Like some other cities of Gaul it enjoyed the *jus Latinum*, or government by its own laws, and at a later period became the capital of Novempopulana or Aquitania Tertia. This was probably due to its situation at the junction of four important Roman roads which ran through it—one from Burdigala to Tolosa, the other from Lugdunum Convenarum to Lactora and

Aginnum. On the summit of the hill rising steeply from the left bank of the river was an older Gaulish town, known as Beth-Clar, and called by its Roman neighbours Villa-Clara, while its inhabitants applied the term Vallis-Clara to the newer settlement opposite them. This name Beth-Clar lingered on, and appears as the name of a gateway in the eleventh century, and of a marketplace from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.*

The name of Elimberis by which this Gaulish *oppidum* is also known, was probably given in the first place to that quarter of Beth-Clar which was inhabited by a band of fugitives from Iberia, who settled here after the defeat of Sertorius by Pompey.† This name of foreign importation (corrupted into Climberis) clung to the older town, and long continued to distinguish it from the Roman city. Modern Auch covers its site on the crest and slopes of the hill; and where Augusta-Ausciorum once stood, a new suburb has sprung up. The site of the Roman city can be traced by fragments of mosaic pavements and other remains, which have been unearthed from time to time.

In the third century the capital of the Ausci was in a flourishing state, and trusting to the safety it afforded, S. Taurin took refuge within its walls. Elected bishop of Elusa, the metropolis of Novempopulana, about the year 293, S. Taurin shortly afterwards quitted his city, and accompanied by his flock withdrew to Auch. The reason why this exodus took place is not mentioned in history. Perhaps some local outbreak after the death of Aurelian, or the withdrawal of the Imperial garrison, coupled with some fear of invasion, was the cause. Whatever the reason may have been, Elusa appears to have been deserted at this date by most of its inhabitants. St. Taurin carried with him an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the relics of his predecessors in the See of Elusa. This translation and the temporary transfer of the bishopric had been foretold by S. Paternus, who prophesied the change to be effected by the fourth bishop after him, in the following words:

* Maps in Lafforgue, "Hist. d'Auch," 1851.

† Du Mège, Arch. Pyrén., 1858.

Ego unus . tres post me . nihil amplius ex quo mutabitur sedes.

Et qui altare et pignora beate Marie hinc detulerit . me et illos non relinquat.

At Auch S. Taurin found Christianity held in honour. According to ancient tradition its seeds had been sown here by S. Saturnin of Toulouse. In the Roman city an oratory, dedicated to S. Peter, and outside the older hill city, near the river's bank, a baptistery dedicated to the two SS. John, the Baptist and the Evangelist, bore witness to the faith of a portion at least of the inhabitants.

This baptistery was chosen by S. Taurin for the resting-place of the relics brought from Elusa; so the venerated remains of the early bishops of that city were laid at rest near the baptismal font.*

Ecclesia vero quæ recipit vivos recipiat et mortuos.

The altar brought from Elusa was set up in a new oratory, which S. Taurin erected on the summit of the hill. On its site the present cathedral now stands. He fixed his bishop-stool in the Church of SS. John, and here it remained until the beginning of the sixth century, when a new church across the river became the cathedral.

In 313, this holy bishop was slain by the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, whither his zeal had led him to preach against their pagan rites.† His successor, S. Luperculus, re-established himself at Elusa and there suffered martyrdom, but owing to the importance of Auch a suffragan bishop was appointed in the person of S. Citerius, who ranks as its first bishop. The primates of Novempopulana continued to reside in Elusa until the total destruction of that city by the Saracens in 732. Early in the fifth century another saint, who has left his mark in history, occupied the See of Auch. S. Orens, a native of Urgella in Catalonia, was born in an age when souls, attracted by the renown of the hermits of the Thebaid, were led to imitate their retirement from the world. Urged by a divine impulse he crossed the Pyrenees and chose a retreat amid the solitude of those mountain-passes. Near the entrance of the sombre gorge through which now runs the

* "Gallia Christ." I. c. 967 (edition 1715).

† "Acta SS.," v. Sept., t. 42, p. 631.

road from Pierrefitte to Luz, a footpath on the left leads up the lonely valley of Caprasie. The noise of the torrent rushing down from the lake of Isaby alone troubles the silence. After ascending the path one reaches the ruins of an ancient church, on a piece of level ground surrounded by trees and meadows. The times are long gone by when on the first day of May crowds of peasants collected here to celebrate the festival of the patron saint of the Pyrenees. The few remaining fragments show that the church was built in the form of a Latin cross. The walls are of great thickness, and the three round apses at the east end had roofs much lower than that of the nave. The date of its foundation is not known, but this church—the oldest in these valleys—was built on the site of the oratory of S. Orens. A charter of the year 820 mentions the donation to this sanctuary of divers ornaments.* At a later date this monastery belonged to the Order of Cluni. At this spot S. Orens fixed his abode, and with his loins girt about with an iron chain, recited the Psalter daily, standing in the icy waters of the lake. Here he kindled the light of the Gospel among the peasants of the neighbourhood, for the inhabitants of these remote valleys still practised the rites of paganism long after the conversion of the towns in the plain.† The breviary of Auch mentions the mill which he built to supply their temporal wants.

The renown of the hermit spread far and wide, and on the death of Ursinien, bishop of Auch, he was unanimously elected as his successor. The fame of the learning and earnest labours of S. Orens extended beyond the confines of his diocese, and his intercession was entreated even by the Arian Visigoth, King Theodoric, in 439, when he found his capital threatened by the two armies commanded by Aetius and Litorius. With the former general the intercession of the venerable bishop prevailed, and he withdrew his forces; but Litorius, hoping to eclipse his colleague, refused to listen to the advice of the saint, and gave battle to Theodoric, whose army, animated with religious enthusiasm, gained the victory, and the Roman

* "*Histoire de la Bigorre*," Lagrèze, 1863.

† Compare the statutes of the Bishop of Conserans, 1279–1304, wherein is a distinct proof of the existence of a cult of Diana and of a Celtic goddess in his diocese, as late as the close of the thirteenth century.

general was totally defeated. For nigh fourteen centuries the grateful citizens of Toulouse honoured, by a solemn procession every year on the first of May the memory of their protector, whose statue was also placed on one of the gates of their city.

The literary remains of S. Orens, which have survived, prove that the hermit-bishop was a man of considerable intellectual power and culture. He was an eye-witness of the devastation of the rich provinces of Southern Gaul by the hordes of Vandals and other barbarians, who overran the country before they passed into Spain (409). In his *Commonitorium* (Lib. ii. 165, &c.), he writes :

Look how Death is fallen suddenly upon us, and war destroyed the people. Those die of hunger whom the sword has spared. Others become the prey of dogs. Some perish in their houses given over to flames. Throughout the whole land, murder, carnage, fire, and woe hold sway. All Gaul smokes like one funeral pile.

This testimony is confirmed by S. Prosper of Aquitaine, likewise a witness of this invasion, who writes in his poem, "*De Providentia Divina*" :

If the whole ocean had inundated Gaul, it could not have ravaged it so horribly. For years the Vandals have turned the country into a shambles. They have spared neither sex nor age. All have been struck down. They are a tempest sweeping away both the good and the wicked—both the innocent and the guilty.

S. Orens was buried in the ancient oratory of SS. John, called in his day S. John of the Hawthorn (*albispinei*). Under his successor in the See, this church was rededicated in honour of the saint. After its ruin and the transfer of the cathedral in the sixth century, a Benedictine Abbey was erected in 956 on its site by Bernard le Louche, Count of Armagnac, and its church was consecrated in 1075. This monastery of S. Orens was afterwards reduced to a priory dependent on Cluni. Destroyed at the revolution, its scanty remains are now enclosed within the walls of the modern Ursuline convent. In 1609 some relics of S. Orens were solemnly translated to Huesca—the place of his birth, according to the fabulous Acts.*

* "*Acta SS.*," 1 Maii, t. xiv. p. 64.

Dom C. de Brugèles states that the horn of S. Orens was still preserved in the priory, and that it was sounded on the last three days of Holy Week, in place of the bells, to summon the congregation.*

The closing years of the Roman Empire in the West witnessed the horrors of successive tides of barbarian invasion.

Within five years after the departure of the Vandals, the Visigoths, on quitting Italy, under the command of Ataulfus, had overrun the valley of the Garonne. They then passed into Spain, but their leader Wallia having entered shortly afterwards into a treaty with the Emperor Honorius, whereby the Visigoths obtained the concession of the south-western portion of Gaul as allies of the empire, they recrossed the mountains, and occupied the country stretching from the Garonne to the ocean. The royal residence was fixed at Toulouse, and the ruin of these opulent provinces, and of the Roman civilisation therein, dates from the establishment of the Arian Gothic kingdom.

Paulinus of Pella, in his *Eucharisticon*, has given a graphic picture of the sad condition of the Gallo-Roman inhabitants driven into exile, and reduced to poverty by the invaders.

For some years the Arian rulers granted to the people the free exercise of the laws and customs emanating from Rome, and even Byzantium. Severe decrees forbade polytheism and the public profession of heresies condemned by the Church, which still preserved her authority over the older race. Ewarik on obtaining the crown in 466, abolished this toleration, and entered on a stage of persecution. The vacancies caused by death or exile in the ranks of the Catholic clergy, were not allowed to be filled. By his order S. Justin, bishop of Auch, was slain, and the See remained vacant for fifteen years. Three other bishoprics in this province, and five in Aquitaine were deprived of their pastors. Bereaved of their prelates and spoiled of their goods, the churches everywhere fell into ruin. Catholics, who remained faithful to their creed, were subjected to odious vexations, and many suffered death. The feeble apostatised. The recital of the cruel persecution inflicted by this tyrant on his subjects may be read in S. Gregory of Tours (Lib. ii. c. 25), who borrows his description from the

* "Chroniques Ecclésiastiques d'Auch," 1746.

letters of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, the exiled bishop of the Anverni (Epist. vii. 6).

It is not surprising to find that the people longed to throw off the hated yoke of their Arian masters, and that they looked for a deliverer in Chlodowig and the victorious Franks, who had extended their sway as far as the northern bank of the Loire. Ewarik's successor Alaric, alarmed at the close proximity of such powerful neighbours, now thought of reconciling his Catholic subjects to his rule, but his concessions came too late, and were unavailing. On his death in the battlefield of Vouglé, the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul vanished away, the sole possession, north of the Pyrenees, left to his son Amalric, being the narrow tract of sea-coast known as Septimania—extending from these mountains to the Rhone.

Chlodowig restored the ruined churches in his new dominion, and gave them great endowments. At Auch, the cathedral of S. Orens being in ruins, he erected a stately basilica in honour of S. Martin outside the western wall of the old Roman city across the river. Its site is now on the north side of the convent of the Filles de Marie. The episcopal seal of Auch, bears the *Agnus Dei* on a field gules—an allusion doubtless to the early home of the See in the baptistery of S. John. This charge also appears on the coat of arms of the city.*

In 732, and again in 792, Aquitaine was devastated by the Saracens. On their first incursion Auch was destroyed with the exception of a small part of Elimberis—at that date uninhabited;† and the metropolis, Elusa, was levelled to the ground.‡ Henceforth the territory of the latter city ceased to appear as a separate diocese, and for the next hundred and twenty years its ecclesiastical province was annexed to the metropolitan See of Aquitania Secunda (Bordeaux).

Auch had hardly begun to rise from its state of ruin when the Normans sacked it in 844, and their ravages were not repaired for more than thirty years. Taurin II. (ob. 856) on

* Party perpale : 1. Gu. an. Agnus Dei arg. with cross or. 2. Arg. a lion ramp. gu. (for Armagnac).

† P. Lafforgue, "Hist. d'Auch," 1851.

‡ "Elusatium metropolis" in the ancient notices of the cities of Gaul, now Eauze, a small town of no importance. In the seventh and eighth centuries the district around it is called "pagus Elisanus." In the ninth century this "pagus" disappears and becomes "Comitatus Fidentiacus," or county of Fezensac.

his promotion to the bishopric found his city almost a desert, a few scattered houses were all that remained of the once flourishing capital of the Ausci. The three ancient churches had been demolished, and the basilica of S. Martin was a mass of ruins. Thinking wisely that the summit of the hill would prove a better post of defence against future attacks on his church and flock, than the low open ground on the right bank of the river, he rebuilt his cathedral on the site of the oratory of Our Lady erected by his saintly namesake and predecessor; and re-dedicated the altar in honour of her Nativity.

From the time of the Lower Empire, churches built against the eastern ramparts of a city, and strongly fortified, so as to form in case of necessity a second citadel, were common throughout Southern Gaul. Those of Lectoure and Eauze, and the Romanesque cathedral of Auch may be cited as examples of this method of defence.

Before his death, Taurin united the old primatial See of Elusa to that of Auch, which was consequently raised to metropolitan rank. Rabanus Maurus (ob. 856) mentions "*Auscitana metropolis cum sua provincia Novempopulana*," and Pope John VIII. addressed an epistle to Ayrard—the successor of Taurin—wherein he is styled Archbishop (879).*

From this date till the middle of the twelfth century the city appears to have enjoyed a season of peace and prosperity.

About 920 Guillaume-Garcie, Count of Fezensac, built his castle near the cathedral, and Auch became the nominal capital of his fief, though the city was under the feudal lordship of its Archbishop. The Counts of Armagnac had also a castle just outside the walls.

In 1038, the Archbishop, Raymond Copa, placed his chapter under the rule of S. Augustine; and his nephew, William Count of Fezensac, fortified with a wall and towers the new buildings erected for the residence of the Canons on the south side of the church. A new cemetery was also made near the cathedral, and its opening led to a quarrel with the monks of S. Orens, who possessed the monopoly of burial. Raymond was deposed on proof of a charge of simony brought against him in 1042, and the cemetery was closed by order of Pope

* "*Mansi*," t. xvii. p. 135.

Leo IX.* This decree was annulled at the entreaty of the next prelate—S. Austinde, who at the time of his election to the See was Abbot of S. Orens. He laid the foundations of a new and larger cathedral, which was not completed and consecrated till 1121. As primate of the two Navarres, S. Austinde held a Council at Jacca, at which three bishops from Aquitaine were present (1063).† This primacy over Haute Navarre dated from the beginning of the tenth century, for, in 946, Bernard of Auch wrote to Pope Agapitus II. announcing his confirmation as metropolitan, of the election of a bishop beyond the Pyrenees. The primatial jurisdiction of this See over Navarre—"beyond the mountains"—probably lasted as long as the Saracens exercised domination in Spain.

At this period the Archbishops resided in the old monastery of S. Martin, which had been partially restored, and they ascended only once a year to their cathedral across the river, in order to consecrate the chrism on Maundy Thursday. The Legate of Alexander II., Cardinal Hugh, who was charged with the reformation of abuses in Gaul, held a council at Auch in 1068. He ordered all prelates to live in their episcopal cities, but the transfer of the residence of the Archbishop of Auch was not effected till about the year 1100.

Meanwhile the monks of S. Orens, on the accession of Urban II. in 1088, prevailed upon the pontiff to restore their "rights" of burying the members of the Chapter. But his brief was shortly afterwards withdrawn, and the new Archbishop—Raymond de Pardiac—who had been a member of their community—was received with joy by the people, on his return from Rome, whither he had gone to get this brief rescinded, and at the same time obtain his pall. Pope Calixtus II. finally put an end to the scandal of the repeated applications by the monks to the Holy See, and formally condemned their pretensions.

The contents of his brief were notified to them by Archbishop Bernard II. who, assisted by his suffragans, proceeded to consecrate the new cemetery of St. Mary's, on April 28, 1119. At the high mass, celebrated by William, Bishop of Tarbes, in the presence of the Archbishop, of S. Bertrand de Comminges, and

* "Gallia Christ.," I. 979.

† "Mansi," t. xix. 929 ; "Acta SS.," 25 Septem. t. xlvii. p. 142.

of other prelates, the irritated monks in a state of fury against their Archbishop, invaded the cathedral, flung stones, and shot arrows at the altar. One shaft pierced the corporal, and the celebrant was wounded by another in the heel, while many laymen present were grievously hurt. The rebels, on retiring, set fire to the building. Their conduct was unanimously condemned at the Council of Toulouse, held a few months later.*

The race of the Counts of Fezensac came to an end in the male line in the person of Astanove II., who died in the first Crusade. Azaline, his daughter and heiress, married Arnaud-Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and the fief descended to their only child Beatrix, on whose death (c. 1140) it was united to the Comté of Armagnac by Géraud III. (ob. 1160)—the son and successor of Beatrix's first cousin, Bernard III. of Armagnac.† Auch thus became the capital of the two counties, and their union led to a disastrous conflict breaking forth in the next generation between the lay and spiritual powers—the former endeavouring to oust the Archbishop and Chapter from their temporal lordship over the city. These feudal rights had belonged to the See since the time of Chlodowig, who had bestowed on the church of Auch all rights possessed by the Crown over the city, and, until this rebellion, the Counts of Fezensac had paid homage to the Chapter as their feudal superior. The union of the two fiefs also led to the commencement of the fortunes of the proud and hardy race of Armagnac, who henceforth refused to recognise any suzerain authority, and, despite the remonstrances of several kings of France, now styled themselves "Counts by the grace of God."

Count Bernard IV. appears to have favoured the Albigensian heretics, and in 1171, during the absence in Rome of his brother-in-law, Archbishop Géraud de la Barthe, he pillaged and partially ruined the cathedral and cloister. On the Archbishop's return he was refused admittance into his city, and was compelled to take refuge in S. Martin's. The nefarious work was completed with the aid of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. Auch now became the centre of horrible scenes of riot and destruction, such as it had not experienced since its invasion by the Saracens.

* "Recueil des Hist. de France," xiv. 321.

† "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," iii. 45.

The noble Romanesque cathedral was abandoned to the hammers of its destroyers, and then delivered over to the flames. A like fate befell the residences of the Canons and their cloister, as well as the monastery of St. Martin.*

The Archbishop and the members of his Chapter were dispersed throughout the country, being chased like wild beasts for the space of two years, and compelled to wander from one place of refuge to another. All their property and goods were seized. The Archbishop, on one occasion, was surrounded in the Castle of Lamaguère, which was burnt over his head, and it was a miracle that he escaped with life.

During this reign of terrors all his lands and possessions were at the mercy of the Count and his accomplices. On Bernard's death in 1190, the persecuted prelate was allowed to return to Auch, where Gerard IV.—the new Count of Armagnac—seemed disposed to respect at least the ties of blood in his dealings with his uncle. For the sake of peace the Archbishop agreed that the feudal rights of the See should be shared in future with the Counts. While the Archbishop was trying to bring some order out of chaos into which his city had fallen, the news of the disasters in the Holy Land plunged Europe into mourning. Jerusalem had capitulated to the Saracens on October 2, 1187.

Baronius writes : "*Vox ab Oriente auditur lugentium atque lamentantium interfectos populi Dei, et civitatem sanctam Jerusalem hostili pervasione vastatam.*"† Pope Urban III. died of grief at the news, and his successor, Gregory VIII., prescribed a general fast throughout Christendom.‡ Western Europe armed for the third Crusade. The Archbishop resolved to join the expedition, and, before starting, placed the administration of his diocese in the hands of Bernard, his archdeacon, and confided the protection of his churches and temporal goods to the care of his nephew. Then with his suffragan, Bernard Bishop of Bayonne, he joined in June 1190, the forces of Richard Cœur de Lion, who appointed the two prelates admirals of his fleets—"ductores et constabularios totius navigii sui"—says Roger de Hoveden.

* "*Gallia Christ.*" I. Instrumenta, xi. p. 163.

† "*Annales*," t. xix. p. 579 (Lucæ, 1746).

‡ "*Mansi*," t. xxii. pp. 527-531 ; "*Roger de Hoveden*," ii. 322, 329 (Rolls Series)

The Archbishop was with the King of England at Messina in the following October, and was one of the sureties for his peace with Tancred. In May 1191 he was in Cyprus, and present at the coronation of Berengaria. On July 16 of the same year, he, with other bishops, purified the churches of Acre from the pollution of the pagans;* but did not live to see the end of the Crusade, dying early in 1192.

Armaniau de Grisinac (1226–1242) obtained from Gregory IX. the privilege—then rare in the Church—of having the cross borne before him throughout the whole of his ecclesiastical province.† In 1241, while on his way to the Council with other prelates from France, the Genoese galleys conveying them were captured by the Pisan fleet, under the command of Enzo, the son of the Emperor Frederick, and the sixty bishops and abbots on board were taken to Naples and thrown into prison.‡ The Archbishop of Auch died the following year at Capua, while still a prisoner of the Emperor.

All that remains of the old Romanesque cathedral are an arcade of small columns and a few other fragments now standing outside the present chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. They can be best examined from the garden of the palace.

Armaniau II., a member of the powerful house of Armagnac, during his occupation of the See (1261–1318) made some vain attempts at rebuilding the ruined cathedral, but it was not till 1370 that the plan was decided on and the foundations laid. Little more was done during the schism of the West, which caused a lack of enthusiasm among the clergy and people. John, Cardinal Flandrin (1378–1390), had to rebuke his canons for their neglect of ecclesiastical rules. From his Statutes we learn that they were given to gaming and ball-playing, and bred sporting dogs in the cloister; besides going about in the town armed, and in secular costume, with shoes of green, red, or yellow; while in choir they appeared in ragged and dirty surplices. However in 1429 an attempt was made to carry on the work of rebuilding, which went on slowly till 1472, when a new disaster befell. By order of Louis XI. the Count of Armagnac—Jean V.—was besieged in his city of Lectoure,

* *Gesta regis Ricardi I. Benedicti Abbatis*, ii. 110–181 (Rolls Series).

† “*Gallia Christ.*” I. *Instrumenta*, xiii. p. 165.

‡ *Matthæi Parisiensis*, “*Chronica Majora*,” iv. 125–130 (Rolls Series).

and the neighbouring district, including Auch, was given up to pillage by the royal forces. The Chapter found themselves forced to sell, for their ransom, part of their library, a great crucifix of silver, a silver image of Our Lady, and other treasures. In such a state of distress there was small hope of continuing the works. In 1483, François-Philibert of Savoy, brother of Louis XI. and uncle of the reigning monarch Charles VIII., was elected Archbishop. In October of the same year the King signed at Bourges letters of safe-conduct for "son très cher et amé oncle et cousin François, ainsi que pour ses chers et bien amés les chanoins de son église métropolitaine." This prince ruled his See by deputy for seven years, and the rebuilding of the cathedral was undertaken this time in earnest, the first stone being laid in 1489 by a Pierre d'Armagnac, perhaps a lineal descendant of that Count who had laid the former Romanesque church in ruins more than three hundred years before.*

The work was carried on with such alacrity that the choir and part of the transepts were completed in seventeen years, during the episcopate of Jean VI. Cardinal de la Trémouille, who died in 1507 at Milan while assisting at the triumphal entry into that city of his sovereign, Louis XII.

The stained glass of the chapels of the choir and apse and the magnificent stalls enclosing the choir were erected by the next Archbishop, François-Guillaume, Cardinal de Clermont-Lodève (1507-1538). This prelate was ambassador of France at the Court of Rome, but sided with Pope Julius II., against the schismatical council of Pisa and his own sovereign. Recalled in consequence of his conduct, he retired to his diocese, and made his solemn entry into Auch, accompanied by five bishops, on October 16, 1512.

According to custom, he was met at the city gate by the eight Consuls in red robes on horseback, the Canons of S. Mary, wearing mitres, and the Benedictine monks of S. Orens. They all accompanied him to the cathedral, his mule being led by the bridle to the door of the church by the "très noble et puissant seigneur le Baron de Montault" on foot. By the tenure of his office, the Baron was clad in a

* F. Caneto, "Atlas Monographique de S. Marie d'Auch," 1857.

white just-au-corps without a mantle, and with one leg bare, and his feet shod with leather sandals. On alighting a squire led the mule to the Baron's stable, and the Archbishop standing outside the door, took oath to observe the privileges of the Chapter. He was then conducted by the Baron de Montault to his throne in the choir, where he was duly installed, and afterwards to his palace by the said Baron, who served him at dinner; the perquisite for such service being all the plate displayed on the buffet.*

The Barons de Montault acquired their prerogative of thus receiving the Archbishop at the beginning of the twelfth century when Montarsin de Montault gave lands to the See for the erection of a palace. In 1547 the Cardinal de Tournon exposed on his buffet a single glass vessel instead of a service of plate, and the Baron de Montault of that day fell into such a rage at the slight thus put on his service, that he smashed it in pieces with his staff, at the same time uttering many invectives and menaces against the prelate and his guests.† In the seventeenth century their perquisite of the plate was commuted for the sum of 3000 livres paid for their service.

The eight consuls (octovirs) of the city held their authority from the Archbishops and Counts of Armagnac jointly. The Counts (after their extinction the Kings of France) and the Archbishops, on their accession, swore to maintain the rights and privileges of the city; while the Consuls in return took oaths of fidelity to them. They held office for one year, and had the privilege of choosing their successors. No Consul could be re-elected till after two years from the day on which he ceased his functions. This form of civic government lasted till 1666, when the communal powers were usurped by the Crown. In 1357 these magistrates were authorised to wear red robes and hoods—"les robes en mi partie drap de Flandre fourrées de peaux d'agneaux;" and in 1562 mention is made of "huit robes de rouge et noir doublées de satin." Until 1613, an annual allowance was granted for the purchase of new robes—amounting to 300 livres, a considerable sum at that date—but from that year the king's council ordered that the

* Bib. de la Ville MS. of Canon du Sendat, No. 78.

† Lafforgue, "Hist. d'Auch," i. 47.

expense be cut down, and each robe used for eight years, and then sold and the proceeds paid to the profit of the Commune; and that 50 livres be paid to each consul on retiring from office in compensation for his robe.*

The choir stalls had been erected before the visit to Auch on December 31, 1527, of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, and his queen, Marguerite d'Angoulême, sister of Francis I. The newly-wedded pair were solemnly installed in the left-hand stall on entering the choir, as sovereigns of the ancient County of Armagnac, being entitled to this stall as lay-canons in virtue of their rank as such rulers. Marguerite had brought in appanage to her husband the rich domain of the unfortunate Count Jean d'Armagnac, which had been annexed by Louis XI.; and it was as Count and Countess of Armagnac that they were thus installed, and took oath never to invade the rights of the church and chapter of Auch, but to protect and defend them. In a recess in the east wall of the old sacristy opening out of the south aisle are two early sixteenth century statues of Henri and Marguerite, in wood, painted and gilt, about four and a half feet in height, made in commemoration of their visit and oath. Between the two figures is a crucifix, to which the King raises his hand.

The right to a stall, with surplice and amyss, belonged also to four other lay canons beside the Count of Armagnac. These were the Barons of Montault, Pardaillon, Montesquiou and Isle de Noë, whose prescriptive rights date from the eleventh century. Their presence in choir was a simple privilege, and no obligation was entailed on the owners, who took possession of their stalls according to the date of their election thereto, the Crown-stall being the only one reserved.

Before the secularisation of the Chapter in 1549 by Julius III. the number of Canons, originally twenty-five, had been reduced to twenty in 1331. At their head was a prior, and among their number are specified a provost, precentor, sacristan, cellarer, porter, "ouvrier," "infirmier," and gardener. In the eighteenth century the Chapter was composed of twenty-five canons, a sacristan, eight archdeacons, the prior of Nôtre-Dame de Neiges and the abbots of Faget,

* "Archives de l'Hotel de Ville d'Auch."

Sere and Idrac. No one was received as a member who was not noble—"vel sanguine vel litteris." There were also in choir thirty-four prebendaries, who were divided into three classes attached to certain chapels, viz.:—twelve of S. Bartholomew founded in the twelfth century, ten of S. Martial, founded in the fourteenth century, and twelve of SS. Michael and James. Two prebends of the last had been founded in the fourteenth century by Hugues de Pardailhan. In addition to these were four prebendaries called *Cantoraes*; eight chaplains of the Holy Ghost, founded in 1342; four chaplains called *de Maurini*, founded in 1506; twelve royal chaplains of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, founded in 1684; and an odd chaplain called "*La Lapide*."* In 1789, Auch was one of the wealthiest Sees in the kingdom, the net revenue of the Archbishop being 120,000 livres (£10,000—£12,000) per annum.†

The choir and transepts, shut off by a temporary wall from the still unfinished nave, were consecrated on February 12, 1548.

About this date, the Canons enclosed the east end of the choir with stone screens between the pillars of the apse, and their arrangement of the sanctuary was far superior to the one which unfortunately superseded it at a later date. The space was somewhat limited in area, and their design utilised it to the utmost extent possible. Entrances to the choir were left on the north and south sides in the bays immediately east of the stalls. Then came a flight of six steps, the topmost crowned by the altar-rail, not straight across the choir, but projecting in the centre westwards as far as a line drawn through the middle of the side doors. Within the altar-rail came a level space of nearly a bay's breadth before reaching the lowest altar-step. The high altar was raised on three steps, and thus stood nine steps in all above the level of the choir.‡ Behind it, and between the two eastern piers of the apse, stood the small altar used for the celebration of masses for the dead by the chaplains. In the centre of the reredos of the high altar was an open niche containing the great silver statue of the Madonna holding the Child on her left arm, and seated on a silver throne. This had been given by either the Cardinal de Tournon, or

* Bib. de la Ville, MSS. 72, 78 (du Sendat).

† Almanach Royale, 1789.

‡ "Bib. de la Ville," MS. 72 of Canon du Sendat.

Canon Jean de la Croix in 1545. The historians differ as to its donor. It is said to have been a beautiful specimen of early Renaissance workmanship, and was preserved in the Treasury in 1792. On the top of the screen between the two eastern pillars of the apse, the Canons placed a large wooden statue of Our Lady of Auch. (The modern statues under this title resemble in attitude those of Our Lady of Lourdes, but the gaze of the figure is directed downwards.) There can still be seen in the pillars the holes for the stanchions which retained this statue in position; and the hook above, from which was suspended the dais over it, is still in its place. On certain occasions, this wooden statue was lowered by means of a double set of pulleys from the top of the screen, and placed on a temporary pedestal before the altar. This interesting and effective arrangement of the sanctuary did not last for many years, as Archbishop Leonard de Trapes (1599–1629) remodelled the east end of the choir, and by his alterations sacrificed a large portion of the already limited area. He erected a new three-sided screen at a distance of about seven feet westward of the original screen built between the six pillars of the apse. This inner screen is much higher than the old one, so the latter was raised to the same height by a heavy wall of masonry and a tasteless balustrade, superimposed on the early Renaissance work; and the space between it and the new screen was vaulted over so as to form a gallery nine feet wide around the apse! For what purpose, or with what object, this was done, it is impossible to say. At the same time, the Archbishop reduced the height of the sanctuary floor by removing the old flight of six steps, and placed his new high altar in front of the new screen on four steps above the level of the choir.

The architect, Pierre Souffron, adapted in his new altar screen the columns and decorated panels of the inner side of the old one, by moving them forward, and re-arranging them. He also made use of the two tiny doors which existed in the original screen for the use of the servers at the altar, in the north and south bays immediately eastward of the side entrances to the choir. Within each of these doors, he placed a spiral staircase leading by a flight of forty-two steps from the aisle outside to the new gallery round the apse. Branching off

westward at each side from the top of the third step inside these doors, another flight of eight steps led to the ambones provided in the new design. Two small doors (now nailed up) in the new screen, at the ends of the high altar, also opened on this staircase, so that the sub-deacon and deacon had not to pass outside the sacrarium to reach their ambo, in order to sing the epistle and gospel. These ambones project from between two columns at the ends of the screen, and are only large enough for one person to stand in. They both face westward, and are no longer used. Turning eastward on entering the passage, between the screens, a flight of nine steps at each side under the gallery leads to the old altar, whereat the masses for the dead used to be said. It now stands out of sight under the vaulting of the gallery above it; and covered deep with dust is in its neglected condition a mournful protest against such ill-judged and badly planned alterations.

The new screen was not finished in 1609, when commissioners from the King examined the cathedral, as they reported that it was necessary to complete the new work about the high altar.

As for the venerable wooden image of Our Lady of Auch, it still occupied its old position under the eastern arch, though raised by several feet to the top of the addition to the outer screen. As it could no longer be lowered into the sanctuary, it would seem, judging from a rude hoop of iron still remaining affixed to the outer wall of the screen, as if it had been customary to lower it, on the appointed days for this ceremony, outside, and place it on this support in the ambulatory opposite the eastern chapel of the apse. At the Revolution, it was hurled down to the pavement, and its broken fragments carried out and burnt.

In place of the old silver statue mentioned above, another statue in silver of the Madonna had been given to the Chapter by Canon Louis d'Aignan du Sendat (ob. 1764) in his will. He composed the inscription on its base, recording his gift, and requested that the prayer "*Inclina*" should be daily recited for ever on behalf of his soul by the celebrant after mass, and likewise after compline. He also gave two candlesticks to stand always before the said statue, and be used at the high mass and vespers of the feasts of the B.V.M., and for payment

of the tapers therein burnt he left to the Chapter a sum of 200 livres. These two silver images were taken to the mint at Pau, and melted down in 1792; whereupon Barthe, the intruded Constitutional Bishop, clamoured so loudly for one to replace them, that the Director of the Museum of the Department delivered to him a statue of the Madonna and Child in white marble, which had been deposited in the museum as a work of art by the inhabitants of Vic-Fezensac, who had probably robbed one of their own churches of it. This beautiful statue now stands on a pedestal behind the high altar. The two massive brass candlesticks, about seven inches in height, given by Canon du Sendat are still in use, and stand on the "mensa."

During the sixteenth century, the nave and aisles were completed as far as the vaulting, but in consequence of the Wars of Religion, and the incursions into Gascony of the Huguenot Chief Montgomery and his devastations, they remained unroofed until 1618. A legacy left by Archbishop de Trapes enabled the necessary work to be completed. Auch always remained a Catholic and royalist city, though captured by the Huguenot forces in 1569.

In 1661, Gervais Drouët, "master architect of the city of Toulouse, and sculptor to the King," was appointed to erect the screen and rood-loft at the west-end of the choir. In the following year, Henri de la Mothe-Houdancourt, Bishop of Rennes, and grand-almoner of the Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, was nominated to the Archbishopric. He altered the original design of the screen which had been made at an earlier date, probably by the Chapter about 1550. The four statues on it were suppressed, and in place of the Madonna accompanied by angels, over the doorway, he ordered figures of the four evangelists, with their symbols, seated at a table to be substituted! The work was finished in 1671 in the heavy classic style of the period instead of in the elegant Renaissance of the earlier design. On the top of the screen were placed the Great Rood between SS. Mary and John, and at the ends David with his harp and Isaias with a saw. Outside and facing the nave were two altars; the one on the north side of the entrance dedicated to Our Lady, and the one on the south to S. Michael.

Anne of Austria having had a great devotion to the Holy Sepulchre, the Archbishop, at her death, caused the altar-piece in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre to be enriched with gold; and the walls "sprinkled with tears and fleur-de-lys in gold." He also instituted twelve chaplains thereto, with the obligation of celebrating a mass daily at this altar for the repose of the Queen's soul, except on Thursdays, when it was to be offered for the King and Royal Family. This mass was to be sung after all the other masses, and the "Libera" chanted after it by the twelve chaplains, who, according to the title of foundation, were to be nominated by the Crown. Two of these chaplains by turn were to visit the sick and dying every week, and when the Viaticum was carried from the cathedral, it was to be accompanied by four of them, two bearing white torches and two supporting the canopy.

Before the Archbishop's death in 1684, the two heavy western towers (150 feet in height and set too closely together) and the portico were built in keeping with the pseudo-classic taste of the time. He also provided for the clearance of the ground in front of the cathedral by buying up and sweeping away the narrow streets and houses which encroached upon the west front. In 1793, the Great Rood of his screen was pulled down and burnt, but the other statues were saved from destruction by being kept locked up in a side chapel until they could be replaced. All the altars in the chapels were also destroyed except those of the Holy Sepulchre and S. Katherine, which fortunately escaped the Revolutionary havoc.

The closing years of the reign of Louis XVI. were full of trouble for the Church in France. Louis Apollinaire de Latour-Dupin-Montauban, who was elected Archbishop in 1785, refused, with the majority of the clergy, to take the oath imposed by the State on all ecclesiastics. He was therefore deprived of his temporalities, but, ignoring the persecutions to which he was subjected, continued to fulfil the sacred duties of his office throughout his diocese to the last possible moment. An ordination held by him in his palace secretly at midnight was detected, and roused the anger of the revolutionary clubs, who caused the palace to be surrounded by troops early the next morning, when, however, it was found deserted; the prelate and clergy having made their escape in time. In order to

avoid the imprisonment which would have prevented him from ruling, as far as he could, his widowed diocese, the Archbishop took refuge in the Val d'Aran, just across the frontier of Spain. He was accompanied by his suffragan the bishop of Tarbes, and by the bishop of Lavaur. Barthe, dean of the faculty of theology at Toulouse, accepted the mitre as "Constitutional-bishop of Gers." His Gallican principles, pushed to their logical conclusion, had led him into the Constitutional schism, and, influenced either by ambition or by fear, he was enrolled a member of the Jacobin club. His intrusion into the archdiocese was certainly against the wishes of the great majority of the faithful, for the Archbishop soon afterwards held another ordination in his Spanish retreat, to which flocked a large body of aspirants to holy orders from the neighbouring dioceses. This act of spiritual jurisdiction led to representations being addressed to the Court of Madrid by the Jacobins who governed France under the name of Louis XVI., and the exiled prelates were compelled to move further inland from the frontier. They journeyed southwards and found a resting place in the abbey of Montserrat.* After years of suffering and exile, the Archbishop resigned his See under the new arrangements whereby his province was obliterated from the ecclesiastical map, and was appointed bishop of Troyes. By the concordat entered into with the Holy See in 1802, part of the diocese of Auch was annexed to the bishopric of Agen, and it was not till twenty-one years later that this ancient province was restored to existence greatly shorn of its former extent and jurisdiction.

By the wanton alterations and so-called "restoration" carried out during the present century, irreparable mischief has been effected in many of the ancient churches and cathedrals of France. These changes have far surpassed the devastation of the Revolution. Since that date the shepherds have wrought more havoc in the sheepfolds than the wolves of 1793.

The mania for altering the works of their forefathers, which were in accordance with the spirit of Catholic ritual, and the beautiful exponents of the mysteries of the Faith, has led in too many instances to the symbolism of the arrangements of an old church being lost sight of and ignored in these changes.

* J. Delbrel, S.J., in "Revue de Gascogne," 1892.

Auch has fallen a victim to this deplorable meddling. As soon as the see was re-constituted in its ancient home, a proposal was put forward to sweep away the choir-screen and rood loft in order to obtain a "vista." Canon Darré (ob. 1833) was a vigorous opponent of this iconoclastic scheme, and on one occasion when the subject was being discussed in chapter, transported with indignation, he ended the debate by an apostrophe which has been recorded:—

"Sortez de vos tombeaux, pontifes venerables,
 "Dont le zèle crea ces pieux monuments
 "D'anathème frappez ces projets trop coupables
 "Vos chefs-d'œuvre sont faits pour voir le fin des temps!"*

It is ever to be regretted that his conservative zeal did not influence his successors and make them reject the proposed alterations which were carried out about 1860 when the screen was pulled down. The magnificent returned stalls within, with the carved canopy-work over the door, would have been also sacrificed if the work of destruction had not been stopped in time by order of the Government. Now that the choir screen and rood-loft were swept away and the stalls remained untouched, the persons responsible for the former act of Vandalism had to devise a new plan to conceal their devastation. So they decided, as they could not have their "vista," that they would shut off the choir entirely, and no longer use it! They therefore erected an organ on the top of the new screen, which they were obliged to erect in order to hide the backs of the returned stalls; and put up a new high altar just in front of the old entrance to the choir, and enclosed a space about it, at the intersection of the transepts, with low seats for the clergy. In place of the old screen with its two altars, statues and rood, we now find a thin wooden erection adorned with feeble paintings, quite out of harmony with the old woodwork. They had sufficient grace to suspend a crucifix from the vault above the organ, but this is a poor substitute for the great cross of the old rood-loft.

These changes were made "dans l'intérêt des cérémonies religieuses," as a little guide-book to the cathedral artlessly remarks. It is a matter for regret that the sense of devout

* Caneto, "Monographie de S. Marie d'Auch," 1850.

reverence for the Divine Mysteries, as evidenced by the arrangements of our old Gothic churches, should have fallen in these days into such abeyance, and that the example of the Catholic churches of the East in their ritual arrangements be not oftener remembered. Let any one who has witnessed (as may be done in Rome) the celebration of Mass according to the Armenian or Greek rites, and noted the significance of the ritual use of the curtains about the altar in the former, and of the iconostasis in the latter—say whether the reverence due to the sublime Sacrifice of the Altar be not enhanced by such concealment.

At Auch there is an ancient example of this reverent regard for the Blessed Sacrament in the central chapel of the apse arranged for the Reservation of the Host. The old altar is gone, but its vaulted canopy, carved out of one immense block of stone, and stretching from one side of the chapel to the other, still remains. Slightly arched in the centre and pierced with Gothic tracery it overhangs the altar. In olden days before the invention of the modern tabernacle, the ciborium in the shape of a dove was drawn up under its protecting vault by means of a pulley, and a curtain drawn across concealed it and the entire altar from view. The venerable Archbishop Leonard de Trapes (ob. 1629) bequeathed by his will a "tente" of tapestry to this chapel.

Two other altars escaped the devastation of the Revolution, and are beautiful examples of their respective dates.

1. The altar-piece in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is of Flamboyant work, but in a style so severe and simple in treatment that one is inclined to believe that it was one of the earliest altars erected in the present church. Under a large niche is shown the entombment of Our Lord, with life-size figures in white marble.

2. The retable in the Chapel of S. Catherine still remains, but the three statues of S. Catherine between SS. Peter and Henry are modern. It is of early Renaissance work, and below the capitals of its pilasters runs the inscription :—

Memento mei o mater iesus christi salv. dei memento.

L'an MVCXXIIII. et le XV. de Fevrier fut commenc     foder.

O mater Dei memento Maria gratia plena.

The statues formerly on the old rood-loft (SS. Mary and

John, and David and Isaias) have been placed on the top of the screen encompassing the high altar, and in the centre above the reredos is the group of Evangelists with their symbols which formerly stood over the west door of the choir. On the under side of the table is the inscription:—"Gervais Droveta accompli ce jube avec les figures l'an 1671." It is needless to remark how much out of place these statues are in their present position!

No other church in Europe possesses such a complete series of windows filled with stained glass of the early Renaissance period. Arnault de Moles, who executed the work from 1507 to 1513, was doubtlessly inspired by the Italian art of his day. The noble outlines of his designs, and the expressive faces of his figures, are especially noteworthy. The patriarchs, prophets, sibyls, kings, saints, and apostles here figured, with accompanying scenes relating to them, form a series of pictures remarkable for correct drawing, rich colour, and rare artistic intelligence. Beginning with the Creation, the artist has shown the parallel between the Old and New Testaments in the characters here represented. Jesus crucified, the crowning figure of all, is the keynote of the whole design, being the sublime end of the written Law and Tradition of all ages.

Of Arnault de Moles nothing certain is known beyond that he was a native of St. Sever in the Landes. The inscriptions placed on his glass are in the "patois" of Gascony. Thanks to the magnificent patronage of Anne of Brittany and the Cardinal George d'Amboise, the arts in France were strongly inspired by the great schools of Italy. The Archbishop of Auch was the nephew of George d'Amboise, and it was during his residence in Rome, as ambassador of the most Christian king, that the windows of his cathedral were designed. It is probable that he may have selected for that purpose a French artist then studying in Rome. Whether this were so or not, his choice was a happy one. Arnault de Moles has left his name on record—perhaps with intention—immediately beneath the words "*Noli me tangere*" below the figure of S. Mary Magdalene—the last figure in the series; and thereby adopted this inscription, as the solemn and touching expression of his wishes on the completion of his work. The glass has been wonderfully preserved despite the lapse of time and the broom

of Maître Baudet, who was paid by the Chapter, according to an agreement dated 1712, the sum of 75 *livres* annually for ordinary repairs, and "sweeping away the spiders."

The choir-stalls, erected about the same time as the stained glass, are the finest specimens of wood-carving known to exist of this date. They have the colour and lustre of old bronze, obtained—according to the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc—by the oak, after seasoning and steeping, having been submitted to the action of smoke.

The carving is remarkable for its beauty and forcible expression. Both sacred and profane history have been ransacked for scenes and figures worthy of representation. Mythology and legend contribute subjects, while symbolism riots in the midst of details and a multitude of graceful arabesques, flowers and animals. All, however, are executed in due order and proportion, and in subordination to the unity of design conceived and executed by the fruitful imagination of the master mind of a great artist.

In the chapels of the crypt under the apse are the tombs of SS. Leotard, Taurin and Austinde, whose relics were translated from the Abbey of S. Orens in the fifteenth century, as soon as the crypt was ready to receive them. The remains of S. Leotard (ob. 718) rest in a sarcophagus of white marble above the altar dedicated to him. This tomb dates from an earlier period, and is probably of fifth-century workmanship. The two triangular ends, and one side of the lid, are carved with scales, while its front has three concentric rings, enclosing the Greek letters XP. between Omega and Alpha. This design is repeated on the front of the sarcophagus, and is there surrounded with the mystic emblems of the tree, vine and ivy in separate compartments. The two other tombs have flat lids, and are of late Gothic design, dating from the period of the translation. It is owing to the debased taste of the seventeenth century that Auch still possesses these interesting examples of Christian art. Archbishop de Vic (1629–1661) caused the tombs to be covered over with a wooden wainscot, and being thus concealed, their existence was forgotten at the time when the church was desecrated.

They were all opened in 1610, and the contents found intact, with the exception of the portions contained in the reliquaries

of the cathedral. The silver bust enclosing the head of S. Taurin disappeared in 1793. The learned Jesuit Antoine Mongailhard, Rector of the College of Auch, was an eye-witness of this solemn verification of the relics, and has left full details of the examination then made. His MSS. collections towards a history of Gascony have never been published,* but will prove a mine of wealth to any future historian of this part of France. His valuable researches among archives which have since perished were too soon ended by his early death.

R. TWIGGE, F.S.A.

* Preserved in the Grand Seminary, Auch.

ART. V.—SIX WEEKS IN RUSSIA.

IT is a strange thing, with a people so fond of seeing new countries and so devoted to travelling as the English, how small a number, comparatively speaking, take the trouble to visit Russia. Yet there are few if any nations more full of interest and of study, and none certainly in Europe where old traditions, old beliefs and primitive habits and costumes are so universally retained. If we look to the future, also, there is no country which has so grave and important a bearing on the rest of the world. The great Napoleon declared that in a hundred years Europe would be either Republican or Russian; and the most earnest thinkers both in Germany and Italy have held the same opinion. The strength of Russia does not consist mainly in its enormous population, its extensive treasures, or its formidable army, but specially in its having preserved intact the principles which can alone secure the stability of a nation; we mean, its deep religious feeling, and its respect for authority. The monarchical principle among the mass of the Russian population is recognised as essential to their welfare, and is invested besides with a religious character which makes it sacred in their eyes. Their affection for the Czar is undoubted. They call him "Father," he addresses them as his children; and it never occurs to them that any decree issued by him can be otherwise than right and good. But, above all, the strength of Russia consists in the unity of dominant ways of thinking. In Russia there are no newspapers save those which emanate from the Government, and therefore no public opinion is formed hostile to the views therein expressed. However galling it may be to foreigners to find their books and papers sequestered at the frontier and submitted to the most rigorous censorship, there is no doubt that this system has maintained the faith of the people and effectually stopped the flow of atheistic and socialist literature which has brought forth such bitter and evil fruits throughout Europe.

The first thing that strikes a foreigner after crossing the frontier and entering the government of Kieff, is the immense

extent of the corn-fields on either side of the train. The country is a dead flat ; there are neither hedges nor trees, but miles upon miles of waving corn, looking in the blue distance almost like the sea, only occasionally broken by patches of cascia, with its white, star-like flowers. A visit in the country in this part of Russia has great charms, but also its drawbacks, and the main one is the absence of anything which can be called decent roads. There is not a bit of stone of any sort to be found in the whole of this part of the country ; so that the moment you leave the train you come upon tracks which are either knee-deep in bog and water, or else full of a thick and penetrating dust which cakes over face and hands, and seriously interferes with any pleasure in driving. Four, six, and even eight and ten horses are often needed to drag a carriage through the holes and ruts ; and those who are nervous had certainly better not attempt any expeditions.

On arriving at a country-house, the first offering made to the guest is a tray with bread and salt, which is their way of expressing hospitality, very much as the Arab does in the desert. The national dress is universally worn and is most picturesque. The women wear richly embroidered petticoats and vests with full white sleeves, short blue jackets, and head-dresses of various coloured ribbons, with strings of coral round their necks. Their feet and legs are bare, except on Sundays and festivals, when they wear high red-leather boots. The men have rough jackets and vests, fur caps, high boots and bright red sashes. The condition of the peasantry in this part of Russia is one which would contrast favourably with many parts of Great Britain and Germany. Since serfage was abolished, they have become small peasant proprietors, each with a piece of land round their prettily-thatched wooden houses, and with tiny gardens full of sunflowers, the seeds of which form a staple article of food. Nothing can be more striking than the affection of the people for their landlords and their interest in all that concerns both them and their families ; an interest which, we are bound to say, is reciprocal. They are extraordinarily ingenious in wood-carving and carpentering of all kinds. Most of the proprietors have large industrial schools where different trades are taught ; and almost all the furniture in their country-houses is made by the boys.

The girls are equally skilful in all kinds of embroidery, not only for their own dresses, but for table-covers and table-linen. They make also every description of basket and straw chairs, an industry which was started by Princess Lapouchine at her beautiful home, Korsoun, and specimens of which are sold at all the railway-stations.

There are fine woods adjoining all these country places, and nothing can equal the comfort of their houses or the kindness and hospitality shown to the traveller.

There are a few nicely-kept Catholic churches in this part of the country; one at Tagantcha, where the proprietor is a Catholic; another at Smela, and so on. But the priests are lamentably few, and Mass is only said once a fortnight in some of them. The congregations are almost exclusively Polish, although the agents and some of the landlords may be French, Italian, or German.

No one can linger in this part of the world, however, without going on to Kieff, the Jerusalem of Russia, and the greatest sanctuary of the whole nation. Thousands of pilgrims flock here from all parts of the kingdom, and even from Siberia, toiling on foot, wayworn and weary, living mainly on black bread and water, yet always saving some kopecks to give at the altar, or to buy a candle for Our Lord or Our Lady's shrine.

The first place which a stranger is taken to see is a large public garden, overlooking the Dnieper, and richly wooded, in which stands a magnificent statue of St. Vladimir, who first brought Christianity into Russia, and who had all his people baptized in the magnificent river below. The holy King is represented standing and holding a great cross in his hand. The wooden chapel in which the first Mass was said is kept as a relic, surrounded with an iron railing, and has a green zinc roof with a gold cross on the top. His son, Jaroslav, in gratitude for his victories and for the consolidation of his dynasty, erected a magnificent cathedral, which he dedicated to Santa Sofia (or the Divine Wisdom), which was consecrated in 1046, and may be looked upon as the Mother Church of Russia. It is not only a cathedral, but an immense Ecclesiastical Establishment surrounded by a wall, and containing the palace of the metropolitan, the monastery of the monks attached to the Basilica, a library, and a home for pilgrims. A fine tower

crowns the principal gateway, containing twenty bells of beautiful and harmonious tones. The Russians have a passion for good peals of bells, and it may be said that the whole atmosphere breathes in that way the solemn voice of religion. The interior of the cathedral is divided into seven naves by massive pillars; and in the apse are the most beautiful old mosaics on a gold ground in perfect preservation, though dating from the foundation of the church.

The celebration of High Mass in the Oriental Rite is a magnificent sight, and the music is ideal. But what is the most striking is the behaviour of the people, their extraordinary recollection and devotion, without moving or uttering a syllable during these long services, to every part of which they pay the closest attention, all joining in the responses and chaunts with the greatest fervour and piety. This is the more remarkable when we remember that there are no chairs or seats of any sort; and that the whole congregation stands, kneels, or prostrates itself in adoration throughout the service. No musical instrument is allowed; but the voices of the chaunters are so beautiful and so well harmonised, while the music is so solemn and so well adapted to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, that no one can fail to be impressed by it, and to wish that in our Catholic churches a similar use prevailed.

In the same square as Sta. Sofia is the Church of St. Michael, which is remarkable from the fact that, although nearly as ancient as the cathedral, all the inscriptions on the mosaics are in the Slav language, or what is called *Cirillizza*. There is a very fine old picture of the Archangel adorned with precious stones, which the Emperor Alexander I. always took with him in his campaigns, and which was finally given to this church by Nicholas I. There is also a beautiful silver sarcophagus containing the body of St. Barbara, which was brought to Kieff in the year 1100, and which is an object of immense devotion among the people, who come there to pray for a happy death. The Church of St. Andrew is also a very fine building placed on a hill, where, according to the pious legend, St. Andrew planted the first cross. From hence there is a beautiful view of the whole town and of the river below.

There is a new Basilica in process of construction by the Government and dedicated to St. Vladimir, which in richness

of material and lavish expenditure exceeds any modern temple in Europe. White marble from Carrara, black columns from Finland, agates from Siberia, and the choicest paintings and mosaics decorate the interior; while its seven golden cupolas and the gold cross which surmounts the whole, combine to make it one of the most striking monuments of modern Christian piety.

No one, however, has seen Kieff who has not visited the enormous monastery or "Lavra," which is the place of Pilgrimage of all Russia, and contains within its walls the most ancient and the richest sanctuaries in the kingdom. It lies a little outside the town, and is, in fact, a huge fortress and a city in itself, with its churches and towers, catacombs, and shrines, monastic buildings (containing upwards of 2000 monks), hospitals for pilgrims, a great bakery, where thousands of hosts and little loaves of blessed bread are daily made, an equally huge printing press, from whence religious books are issued, and a vast studio where *Icons* or holy pictures are painted and gilt and then sold in quantities to the pilgrims, the number of whom amounted last year to upwards of a million. The arsenal is in front of the principal gate of this monastery, which made Padre Vanutelli exclaim in his recent work on Russia:

If the eagle be the symbol of Russian power in a political sense, it is equally applicable in a moral one; for there is a continual union of these two elements in this country—Christianity and brute force.

Passing through this great gate, one comes upon groups of pilgrims in every direction, some lying on the ground, resting on their bundles in the shade of the trees; others hastening to the services in the different churches, or purchasing holy pictures at the little shops near the gate. But none beg or ask for alms, though the majority are of the poorest class. The largest of the churches is that of the Assumption, the interior of which is rich beyond description. The iconostasis is in silver gilt and is the gift of Peter the Great. There is an immense picture of the Blessed Virgin in the middle, covered with jewels, which in times of sickness and on certain great feasts is taken down and carried in procession; for nowhere is Our Lady so venerated and so frequently invoked

as in Russia. There is also a beautiful sarcophagus of St. Theodosius, and a famous relic of St. Vladimir; but the church is so dark and the crowd of pilgrims so great that it is difficult to see anything satisfactorily.

To the right of this church is a high tower, with a magnificent peal of bells.

On leaving this sanctuary, the visitor descends by a long path and then a covered way, with a succession of staircases, to the catacombs of St. Antony, which, in reality, give the name to the Lavra, *Pecersk* or *Pecerskaia*, signifying grottos or catacombs. There you come to a vast hall adorned with frescoes of the Last Judgment, and depicting the joys of the blessed and the torments of the damned; and here you purchase a candle and are escorted by a monk through a succession of galleries, which are so low and narrow that only one person can pass at a time, while the heat and odour of the pilgrims make them almost insupportable. At last one emerges into a wider space, where on each side, in niches, are the bodies of the saints in open sarcophagi, dressed in the vestments of their respective ranks, among the principal of which is St. Antony, the founder of the monastery in the eleventh century, who rests in a magnificent silver tomb, before which lamps are always burning. Every pilgrim makes the sign of the cross, kisses the crucifix on the breast of the body and says an ejaculatory prayer. Here and there, where the space allows, little chapels and altars have been erected where Mass is said continually for the dead. Many were martyrs for the faith during the Tartar invasion, and their names and the emblems of their martyrdom are affixed to the shrine.

Throughout Russia there is a great devotion towards the departed, and prayers for the dead are continually said. If a person dies in the town, the picture of his or her patron saint is hung outside the door, which is an invitation to every one, even strangers, to go in and say a *De profundis* by the coffin of the deceased. And all who meet a funeral, stop, take off their hats, say a little prayer and do not move on till the procession is out of sight. Would that the same pious custom were universally observed!

It was a great relief to leave this necropolis, with its

stifling atmosphere, and return to the fresh air. It is difficult to imagine how the monks who live in it all day long and some of whom sleep in it, can endure such an existence. Yet some of the more austere amongst them voluntarily choose this life, from a spirit of penance and mortification. There is a second catacomb of St. Theodosius further on; but not so large and less interesting. As we have said before, there are upwards of 2000 monks in this monastery, all following the rule of St. Basil, never touching meat, and observing besides the strictest fast at certain seasons. The hospice for the pilgrims is admirably managed, with an enormous refectory in which meals, free of cost, are given for three days and often longer; but the numbers are so great that many eat their dinners under the trees in the court outside. The refectory is built in the shape of a chapel with holy pictures at one end, before which lamps burn continually; and during the meals, one or other of the monks reads a pious book to them, or says some prayers. Just outside the refectory, is a little recess with a long table, presided over by certain monks and thronged with pilgrims all day long. Here each man or woman gives a tiny bit of money with a paper on which is written a certain name, and receives in return a very small white loaf. On asking for an explanation, we found that the next day there was to be a solemn Mass, on which occasion every one who wishes to have a name mentioned in the *memento* for the living or the dead, must present this little loaf at the altar with the name. The deacon with a lancet cuts out a tiny piece of the bread for consecration and gives back the rest to the pilgrim, who either eats it in company with his devout friends, or else preserves it as a memento of the pilgrimage. In the meantime, the fragment is consecrated and the name of the person for whom the intention is made is read out during the Mass, so as to obtain the prayers of all the congregation before the consecrated particle is consumed by the pilgrim.

The Catholic church is placed in the centre of the city, and was formerly part of an ancient Dominican convent founded by St. Hyacinth. This convent was three times sacked by the Tartars, and, on one occasion, St. Hyacinth escaped by a miracle across the Dnieper, bearing in his arms the Blessed

Sacrament and a heavy statue of Our Lady. It is a fine church; but the congregation is almost entirely Polish. It is a sad thing that Catholicism should be so exclusively represented in this country by the Poles, whom every Russian considers inimical to the Emperor and the nation; and this is, in reality, one of the gravest difficulties in the way of that union with the Holy See which so many of the most earnest thinkers in Russia desire. More than a century of persecution for their faith has (naturally) equally embittered the Poles against the Russians; and their last unfortunate rebellion, thirty years ago, has accentuated this hatred on both sides. More and more earnest should be the prayer of all Catholics that these unhappy differences may, by degrees, be appeased, and that this union may be effected, which alone can give stability to the Russian Church and stop the ever-increasing sufferings of the Polish people.

We have lingered long in this Jerusalem of Russia, and now must hasten on to that which is the real heart and centre of the Russian nation—that is, the unique and beautiful city of Moscow, the mother and true metropolis of the whole people.

The journey from Kieff takes about thirty-six hours, but the trains are so comfortable and the carriages so well hung that there is scarcely any movement, and one can sleep as comfortably as in bed. The country is still flat, with miles of corn; the stations are picturesque wooden buildings; but there are scarcely any houses or villages to be seen along the road till you arrive at Toulâ, a great commercial town, famous for its “small arms” factories and its immense metal works.

Specimens of *samovars* (the Russian urn for making tea), and every kind of silver and copper articles may be seen at the station. Toulâ is a fine city on the river Oka, and contains no less than thirty churches, while it is the seat of the civil and military governors, and also of the bishop.

One striking thing at the Russian stations where people stop for breakfast or dinner, is the number of nuns, dressed in black, who never speak or beg, but hold out a little metal plate, in which every one puts something, which they acknowledge with a low bow, but in silence. No one seems to resent this mute appeal, and every one, rich and poor, responds to it. This

is only another proof of the way in which religion in Russia is associated with every act in the daily life of the people.

Moscow takes its name from the river which divides it, and is one of the most picturesque and beautiful cities in the world.

The Kremlin is its centre, and contains, not only the vast Imperial palace, but the most magnificent cathedrals and churches, the archbishop's palace, two very large convents, a lofty tower, the arsenal, the barracks and a mass of public buildings.

The principal entrance is by the Gate of the Saviour (called Spasski), of red marble, built in 1491 by an Italian, Pietro Solaro, of Milan. In the centre is a beautiful picture of Our Lord, before which every man takes off his hat, makes the sign of the cross, and says an ejaculatory prayer. It is curious to see this done, even by the men and boys at the tops of omnibuses as they pass through the great square. Certainly, Our Lord *reigns* in Moscow, receiving there the homage due to His Divine Majesty as in no other city in the world.

Passing through this beautiful gateway, we arrive at a vast space, in which the principal figure is a gigantic tower, from whence there is a glorious view of Moscow, with the river flowing below the Kremlin's crenellated walls, and with all the beautiful villas and woods beyond. At the foot of this tower is the well-known bronze bell, the largest ever cast in the world, which was manufactured and hung in 1645, but subsequently fell and was cracked, so that it is silent for evermore.

A little beyond is an equally gigantic cannon, called the *Czar Puska*, surrounded by hundreds of other big guns taken in different battles, and other specimens of artillery.

Beyond the tower is the glorious Cathedral of the Assumption (Ouspensky Sobor), with its golden domes and untold riches within, where the Czars are all crowned and the Patriarchs buried. It was built in 1475, by Fioravanti, a Bolognese architect, but is unfortunately so dark within that one cannot get a good photograph or drawing of the interior. Every column is painted, as well as the walls and dome; and the gold iconostasis is a marvel of richness and beauty. There is a picture of Our Lady supposed to be painted by St. Luke, and which was brought to Russia from Constantinople in 1154.

The frame is valued at 200,000 roubles, and the emerald on her forehead at 30,000 roubles. But the multitude of priceless jewels which adorn all the pictures and reliquaries must be seen to be believed. The lamps, missals, chalices, ciboriums, cruets, vases, and every other requisite for the Divine Service, are equally magnificent. There is nothing in Rome to be compared with them, even in the sacristy of St. Peter's. The tabernacle is in pure gold, most artistically carved—so also is the altar; and the oval cup for the holy oils, with which the Emperor is anointed at his coronation, is of the purest jasper, set in gold and enamel.

The "Red" staircase, called also that of the "Lions" on account of the representation of these beasts on the banisters, leads to the Palace of the Emperors, who pass that way to the cathedral at the time of their coronation.

The second cathedral in the Kremlin is dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Here all the Czars were buried till Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg. This cathedral was built in 1505, by Alexio Novi, a Milanese architect, and is of the same style as that of the Assumption. There is a beautiful monument to a boy Czar, who was assassinated at seven years old, and a bas-relief of the child is placed above the sarcophagus which contains his remains.

The third cathedral is dedicated to the Annunciation, and here formerly all the Czars were baptized and married. It contains beautiful frescos of the fifteenth century, and the pavement is in jasper, given by the Shah of Persia to the Czar Alexis. Needless to say that all these churches are filled with beautiful relics and holy pictures set in gold and jewels, and church plate of untold value. There is also a large monastery adjoining, and an immense convent with three chapels and upwards of 100 nuns, who keep a kind of perpetual adoration and offer prayer day and night for the living and the dead. They wear a heavy black dress, with a black pointed capote and veil, never touch meat, and lead very austere lives. Their principal occupation besides prayer is the making of altar-breads, which, in winter, must be pleasant, but in the tropical heat of a Moscow summer must be most trying.

The Church of the Twelve Apostles contains a very curious old picture of St. Peter and St. Paul, dating from the

twelfth century. Here the holy oils are prepared during Lent, and are kept in silver vases.

In the Church of the Apostle St. Philip are some very fine relics, among others one of the robe of Our Lord. The Patriarch's Palace is next to this church, and contains a vast and valuable library.

But it is time to speak of the vast Kremlin Palace, the greater part of which is comparatively modern, but contains wonderful treasures in the way of armour, gold and silver plate, carriages and sledges of great antiquity, crown jewels and dresses worn at the coronation of the Czarinas, and endless other curiosities. The halls of audience are very large. There is a very fine picture of Répine's at the head of the great staircase, representing the peasants doing homage to Alexander III.; and a very curious dining-room built in 1491, having in the middle a great square pillar which supports the vaulted roof. Here, after the coronation, the Emperors always give a great dinner to the foreign ambassadors. The walls are painted in fresco with scenes from the Old Testament. But the most interesting part of the palace is an old wing, which has been preserved intact since the fifteenth century, which was formerly inhabited by the Czar, and which contains the antique furniture, curious pavement, windows, and doors which were in use at that period.

There is also, in the inner court of the palace, a most curious old church called *Spass na born* (Our Saviour in the Forest), which was the first of all the Moscow temples and built in the thirteenth century, and there is a private chapel in the palace itself, with beautiful relics and magnificent church plate. Leaving the Kremlin by the same gate of "The Saviour," you come into what is called the "Red" squares, formerly the place of execution, and see, just in front, the curious Cathedral of St. Basil, built in 1554 by Ivan the Terrible, as a thank-offering for the capture of Kazan. It consists of eleven chapels crowned with a like number of domes of different colours, one more brilliant than the other. It is a strange and fantastic building if you will, but most picturesque as a whole. The Czar Ivan was so afraid that the architect might produce another like it, that he actually had his eyes put out.

In no country in the world is there greater devotion to the Blessed Virgin than in Russia, and especially in Moscow. At every corner of the street there is a little chapel dedicated to her, always open, always bright with candles and flowers, and always full of worshippers, principally working men. But especially is that the case with what is called the *Iverskaia*, which is a shrine built against the centre wall of the Iberian Gates. No Russian ever comes to Moscow without visiting this sanctuary, and the Emperor himself never fails, on entering the city, to go and kneel before this picture of Our Lady and implore her protection before undertaking any important work.

This particular picture is painted on wood in the Byzantine style, and closely resembles the one in the Borghese Chapel in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome. Our Lady has a scar on her left cheek caused by a blow inflicted by a Tartar, whose arm was paralysed in consequence. This picture is constantly taken in a gala carriage, drawn by six horses and with footmen in full dress to visit the sick and dying, or on the occasion of some great family feast, and during its absence from the chapel a very accurate copy takes its place. The original was brought from Mount Athos in 1648.

But it is not only in these wayside chapels that Our Lady is thus honoured. On every gateway and principal building, in every shop, in every café or restaurant, her picture, with her Divine Son, is hung in the most prominent place, with one or more lamps burning before it, and no one passes it, or goes in and out, or takes even a glass* of tea, without first making the sign of the cross and saying a little ejaculatory prayer.

Another magnificent church in Moscow is a modern one, built by the Emperor Nicholas as a thank-offering for the deliverance of Moscow from the French in 1812 and dedicated to Our Saviour.

It is said to have already cost the Government twenty millions of roubles. The inside is beautifully decorated with very devotional pictures and exquisite marbles, and that is another thing which strikes one in Moscow—the deep and tender religious feeling shown by modern artists in Russia in

* No cups or milk are used in Russia, only glasses with a slice of lemon in the tea, and some sugar.

their representations of sacred subjects, which are in very painful contrast to those produced in France or in England ; or even in Italy, in these days of her spiritual decadence. A beautiful and well-kept garden surrounds this church, and a staircase to the south-east of the building leads down to the River Moskva, where there is a large basin for the consecration of the water on the anniversary of the baptism of Our Lord. The number of convents and religious houses in Moscow exceeds belief, but there is one outside the town, in the centre of the cemetery, called Novo Diévitchy (or the Virgins) which is very interesting in an historical sense. It was built in 1524 and is in reality an agglomeration of churches and conventual buildings, surrounded by a crenellated wall with sixteen picturesque towers. The abbess's rooms are curious as having been the place of imprisonment of the Regent Sophia, sister of Peter the Great, who had 300 of the Strelitz, who had supported her cause against him, hung under her very windows. Répine, the famous portrait painter, has made a wonderful picture of this subject.

There are two Catholic churches in Moscow, one entirely for the French, with French priests, and French sisters for the schools and hospital ; and another, a little further off, for the Polish population. But they are maintained with difficulty and subject to vexatious restrictions, one being their having to be closed except during the time of Mass or Divine Service. The sisters also are not allowed to wear their religious dress, which is an inconceivable act of tyranny in a country where nuns in their habits swarm in every church and chapel and even at the railway-stations.

There is only one order of Russian Sisters of Charity in Moscow, founded by the Princess Schakhorskoy, who is a kind of Mother-general, wears the dress, has a large orphanage in her own house, and, adjoining it, a beautiful hospital for the insane. It is a magnificent foundation, placed near the great Military Hospital ; and the princess is universally loved and respected. But the charitable institutions of the city are on a colossal scale. The Foundling Hospital contains between 14,000 and 15,000 babies, with upwards of 600 wet-nurses, and a vast Lying-in Hospital. One of the most stringent regulations relates to the baptism of the children ; so, as the Russian

sacraments are valid, one has the consolation of feeling that, if they die, all those poor little creatures are safe for evermore. We have omitted mentioning one other convent, called *Strasnoi* (or the Passion), which is doubly interesting to us as containing a duplicate of the famous picture of the Madonna venerated in the Redemptorist Church in Rome, under the title of *Perpetuo Soccorso*. This picture was brought from Nijni Novgorod, so many miracles having been wrought at the shrine, that the Czar Michael ordered it to be transported to the capital, where his son built a beautiful church in its honour, with a large convent adjoining, which now contains upwards of 300 sisters. There is a very fine crucifix in this church, the size of life, before which the people are continually praying, and a multitude of beautiful reliquaries and other sacred objects, the gifts of those who have obtained graces at this sanctuary. The nuns were most courteous and kind, looking upon Catholics as "one with them."

One of the most interesting antiquities of Moscow is the old palace of the Boyards Romanoff, which has been carefully restored exactly as it was before the Romanoffs became Czars. It is a most curious house, with narrow staircases, low doors, quaint old furniture, and beautiful old plate and china. In one room below are all the things the first Czar, Michael Romanoff, had as a baby; his cradle, his pap-boat, his clothes, even his dolls!

There is a very interesting historical museum in the Red Square, containing all the products of Russia from the earliest times; and another museum, called Roumantsiov, which in addition to pictures and statues, contains a sort of covered gallery full of peasant men and women, in coloured wax, the size of life, dressed in the various and beautiful costumes of every province in European and Asiatic Russia. We can commend this gallery to the givers of fancy-dress balls, so beautiful and so varied are the different native dresses!

There is also a picture-gallery, called *Trétiakoff*, containing some most interesting modern pictures, and especially some masterpieces of Répine, the great portrait painter, and of Kouindji, the landscape painter. It was a kind of revelation to some of us to find in this distant city a perfection of modern art not to be equalled either here or in Paris. The portraits especially are quite wonderful, both in the way of likeness and

vividness of expression ; and although the historical subjects chosen by Répine are generally of a sad, and even startling character, it is impossible not to be struck with them, and not to carry away an impression which no time will efface. The death of the son of Ivan the Terrible, the scene in prison of the Regent Sophia, the unexpected return of the father of a family from Siberia to his amazed wife and children, the interior of a Siberian hut with the exile, Prince Menschikoff, surrounded with his beautiful daughters, a Catholic lady chained to a hurdle, dragged off to prison in the midst of a weeping and sympathising crowd—these and many others positively haunt the mind of those who have studied them from their extraordinary reality and power.

There are two beautiful parks outside the town of Moscow, one called Sokolniki, which was formerly a primeval forest, reserved for the falcon hunting of the Emperors, but now opened to the public. Beautiful drives have been made through every part of it, and the prettiest chalets and villas have been erected on both sides, which are filled in summer with the rich Moscow merchants and their families. The fir-trees are magnificent and the turf is beautifully kept. The other park, on the opposite side of the town, is called Pétrovsky, which is more fashionable, but smaller, and with no pine woods. There is an Imperial villa at one end, where the Czars rest before entering the city, and where everything is now being prepared for the bride of the Cesarevitch.

But the most beautiful view of Moscow is to be obtained from what is called "The Mount of the Sparrows," which is a rising ground three or four miles from the town on the banks of the river Moskva, which are richly wooded, and from whence the Kremlin, the Convent of the Virgins, the villa of the Grand Duke Sergius, and other beautiful buildings are seen to perfection. This is a very favourite resort of all the people on Sundays and feast-days. There is an excellent café, with a terrace commanding the whole view and a garden below for every kind of sport. There is only one drawback to a traveller's enjoyment of all these parks and gardens, and that is the terrible roads which must be passed to get to them. If in the country there are no stones, and no means of making a track which is not knee-deep in bog and water at the slightest

rain, in the towns the streets are paved with irregular round pebbles which simply shake you to death; and by the time you arrive at the parks, you are so weary of the half-hour's previous jolting, and the prospect of another half-hour's misery to return to your hotel, that the pleasure is quite spoiled. It seems simply incredible that in such a rich country as Russia and in its principal city, no effort should be made to remedy this state of things, except by one or two yards of asphalt opposite certain houses.

The principal hotel is called the Slaviansky Bazaar, and has a magnificent restaurant where the food is excellent and well served.

We have lingered so long in this true capital of the vast Russian Empire as to leave us little space for its rival city, St. Petersburg, which is now the residence of the Court and of the Government. The quick train goes from Moscow to St. Petersburg in twenty-four hours, and the line runs through a richly-wooded country, which is a great contrast to the enormous stretches of cornfields in the south. But St. Petersburg is a cosmopolitan city, with none of the beauty or the characteristics of Moscow. It is like Berlin, or any other large town, and is therefore singularly uninteresting. The only picturesque part is towards what are called the "islands," where there are pine woods and pretty villas, with beautiful views over the Gulf of Finland.

The Cathedral of St. Isaac is a magnificent building; but so dark and heavy, with its huge granite pillars and bronze doors and columns, that the impression left on one's mind is gloomy in the extreme. Far more beautiful is the older Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, close to the famous fortress and prison where so many of our Catholic bishops and priests have been sent on their way to Siberia. In this cathedral, since Peter the Great, all the Emperors and Empresses have been buried. It was touching to see the devotion of the people for the tomb of the late Emperor, which is always brilliantly lighted and surrounded by kneeling figures.

A little further on, in the Alexander Park, is the Cathedral of the Trinity, built of wood by Peter the Great in 1703; and a still more interesting memorial of this Emperor is his own house close by, in the little garden on the bank of the

Neva. From this wooden cottage, which is only one story high, he directed the construction of the whole city. There are a hall and two tiny rooms. In the hall is the boat which was built by Peter himself, and which is called the Father of the Russian fleet. The furniture of the sitting-room is also his own workmanship, and includes a cabinet and a chair in which he always sat. His bedroom has been turned into a chapel, is brilliantly lighted, and contains a miraculous picture of Our Lord as Redeemer, beautifully framed, which the Emperor always carried with him. Continual services go on in this chapel, which, small as it is, is always crowded.

The Winter Palace at St. Petersburg is a vast building containing the usual large reception-rooms, and some very interesting pictures of different battles, with excellent portraits of eminent generals, including Prince Michael Woronzow, Prince Bariatinsky and many others. But the most interesting part of the palace is the little room of the Emperor Nicholas I. in which he died, and which has been left exactly in the same state as the day on which he expired. It is more than severe in its simplicity, a hard little camp-bed, an old patched pair of slippers, a worn hair-brush and comb, his uniform, sword, and helmet—all speaking of his soldier-like tastes, and the way he despised all luxury, and even ordinary comforts. Very nearly as simple is the room of the late Emperor Alexander, with the little iron bed in a niche, where he was laid after his horrible assassination; the only ornament in it being the usual holy pictures in the angle of the wall.

But the thing which it is worth coming to St. Petersburg to see is the Gallery, and the treasures of the "Hermitage," which adjoins the Winter Palace. Of the pictures, there are masterpieces of every school and of every country in Europe, and they are beautifully arranged according to the nationality of each. Italy is represented by some exquisite works of Raphael, painted by him in the earlier part of his life and therefore purer than many of his later subjects. Luini, Leonardo da Vinci, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, Sebastian del Piombo, Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and countless others are all represented by specimens of their best works. It is the same with the Spanish school, which, in its pictures by Velasquez and Murillo, rival the galleries of Madrid and Seville. The German

collection is poor, but the Dutch and Flemish schools are nowhere to be seen to such advantage. There are real masterpieces of Rembrandt, Vandyck, Tenyers, Van Eyck, Wouverman, Gherard Dow, Ostade, Van der Helst, and countless others. In fact, it is a more complete collection than any other in Europe.

But in what is called the Old Hermitage of the Empress Catherine II., there are treasures and riches such as do not exist anywhere else ; and one walks through almost miles of galleries, on each side of which are glass cases, containing the most curious and beautiful objects in gold, silver, crystal, enamel, and jewels which Asia and Europe could produce. One thing only we will mention, as it was made in London ; and that is a bird-clock bought by Potemkin and given by him to the Empress Catherine. When it is wound up, the peacock in the middle turns the wheels, the cock crows and the owl opens and shuts her eyes while she strikes the hour. There are also exquisite miniatures and enamel boxes mounted in priceless jewels, which it would take whole days to describe.

The treasure-room in the Winter Palace is carefully guarded and contains all the Crown jewels, including the second eye of the Golden Lion in the Great Mogul's Palace at Delhi, the first being in the possession of the Queen of England and called the Kohinoor. It was presented to the Empress Catherine by Count Orloff, and is the largest diamond in the world. There are two chapels in the Winter Palace, in one of which is a very ancient picture of the Blessed Virgin, said to be painted by St. Luke and brought from Malta. Also the hand of St. John the Baptist and the arm of St. Mary Magdalene, given to the Emperor Paul I. as Grand Master of the Order of Malta, both being in beautiful reliquaries.

There are two or three Catholic churches in St. Petersburg, the principal of which is that of St. Catherine, which was formerly the Jesuit church ; but since the expulsion of that religious order, it is served by the Dominicans. It is a large church, but not sufficient for the population, there being upwards of 20,000 Catholics in the city. There are good schools for both boys and girls adjoining the convent, and sermons are preached in French and German as well as in Polish. There is also a very beautiful little Church of the

Order of Malta, which, curiously enough, is situated in the midst of one of the Government offices and is supported entirely by the Czar, in memory of the Emperor who was a Knight of the Order. The third church is in the Episcopal Palace, and looked upon as the Cathedral, the Archbishop (who bears the title of *Mohilew*) officiating there as well as the students of his Ecclesiastical Seminary. Besides the seminary, there is an Ecclesiastical Academy, where students are sent from all the Catholic dioceses in Russia, and where there are admirable professors, the men being trained most carefully in the higher studies required for the priesthood.

But the position of a Catholic priest in Russia is one of extreme difficulty. Every sort of odious formality is required of him: any attempt at proselytism is watched, and, if successful, punished with the utmost severity. In the case of mixed marriages, the children are forced to be brought up in the religion of the State, and priests cannot go from one village to another without obtaining a permission which is often refused. All this is the more extraordinary because every thinking man and woman in Russia desires a renewal of union with the Holy See, while the mass of the people are totally ignorant of the fact that any separation exists. A Catholic is welcomed by them as being one of themselves, while a Protestant is looked upon with mistrust and dislike.

"Who then," writes Padre Vanutelli, "is the head of the Russian Church? There is none, for the Emperor is only so nominally; and the real power rests with the Holy Synod which was established when Russia threw off the Greek yoke of the Patriarch of Constantinople."

This Holy Synod has a President, and this man at the present moment is a layman, with no ecclesiastical character of any sort, wearing a military uniform, and who, as Procurator, rules the whole Church in Russia with a rod of iron. "Thus," continues Padre Vanutelli, "all the ecclesiastical hierarchy is now in the hands of the secular government and depends solely on the civil power."

"This servitude of the Church is incompatible with her spiritual dignity, with her divine origin, and with any idea of a universal mission," writes the Patriot Solovief, and another eminent Russian writer adds:

Our Church, in her government, is only a kind of bureaucracy which pretends to feed the flock of Jesus Christ, but maintains all the cruel and arbitrary proceedings and official falseness which seem to be inherent in our political administration.

As long as this state of things lasts, there is no hope of any union or of any diminution of the persecution of those who will not follow the "Orthodox" or Russian Church. But even Presidents of Holy Synods are not immortal, and as the present dissatisfaction at the state of things is spreading among all the higher and thinking classes, whether lay or clerical, we must hope and pray that a change may come and that speedily. A very distinguished man, writing the other day on this subject, says :

The whole system of government in Russia at present is the same as that towards the fall of the Roman Empire. Few cared for the Emperor or the gods, but only that their relatives should get a good Proconsulate in Asia or Africa, and, having got rich, return to Rome and enjoy life. This, at present, is the state of the class who rule our empire; for the Emperor, who is a good man, is entirely deceived by his councillors and knows nothing of what is really going on. The *Czynowiaski* or officials care for nought but how best and quickest to enrich themselves and their families; and justice and right have ceased to exist.

Let us not, however, despair of the future. If the "powers of darkness" be indeed keeping this vast land in their clutches, we know that there is One who is stronger than they and who in His own good time will bring about the deliverance of His faithful people.

MARY ELISABETH HERBERT.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, a great sorrow has fallen upon the Russians in the death of their beloved Emperor Alexander III. The feeling of affection for him was deep and wide-spread, and even the Poles assert that whenever he knew the truth, he acted fairly and justly towards them.

May the enormous number of requiem masses and prayers offered up for him hasten his eternal bliss, and convince our Protestant countrymen and women of the necessity of such sacrifice for their beloved dead.

ART. VI—AN ELECTORAL EXPERIMENT IN BELGIUM.

THE elections of last October in Belgium opened a fresh chapter in the constitutional history of that country. They were watched with much interest, even beyond the narrow limits of Belgium. A new system of manhood suffrage was on its trial—a system which sought to temper the force of numbers by the conservative influences of age, wealth, and education. It was a curious electoral experiment well worthy of attention.

For sixty-one years, Belgium had thriven fairly well under its Constitution framed in 1830. That Constitution was the result of the united efforts of Catholics and Liberals who had just then shaken off the Dutch yoke. This union subsisted until 1840, thanks largely to the political tact of Leopold, first King of the Belgians. But in the Liberal ranks an evolution was taking place towards the extreme left of their party—towards men who, mouthpieces of the Masonic lodges, proclaimed that the Church was their enemy. By 1857, these men had elbowed out of their ranks all who held that a man might be a good Liberal and a sincere Catholic. Some, like M. Lebeau, who had so long been a Liberal Minister and Leader in the early years of Leopold I.'s reign, retired from active politics. Others departed to the Catholic camp, saying with Adolphe Dechamps, one of Belgium's ablest politicians, and brother to the late Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin: "The word Liberal has got into bad hands; it has stood for bad things; we can have nothing more to do with it. Our own name of Catholic must suffice for us; we can have no better." And so two camps were formed—the Catholic and the Liberal.

In treating of Belgian politics, it is impossible not to apply the names of Catholic and Liberal to the two divisions of parties in Belgium. It may be as well, to avoid confusion, to explain the sense in which these names are used for political purposes in Belgium. Under the name of Catholics—their opponents often call them Clericals—are ranged men of widely

different views on purely political questions. In many towns the Catholics call themselves Conservatives. Some are protectionists, others free-traders. Elsewhere they describe themselves as Christian democrats. At Antwerp they are "Meetinguistes," that is supporters of the policy of the "Meeting," an association formed to combat the ever-swelling growth of military expenditure. At Brussels, some call themselves Independents, others simply working men's representatives. Some would have military service binding all personally, save of course the clergy; others would have an army raised by voluntary enlistment. But on one point all agree, and that is to uphold the faith of their fathers against all comers.

The attacks against the faith have come entirely from the party that has taken to itself the name of Liberal. It comprises within its ranks, Doctrinaires, Radicals of all shades, and Progressists, and is more or less allied with the Socialists. As its chief aim has been to attack the Church, a better name for it would be that with which the people christened it during the fight, sixteen years ago, over the School question, that of "Gueux," for assuredly the Belgian Liberal of these later times is descended from the "Beggars" of Alva's age. Such is the party which first came to the front under the able leadership of M. Frère-Orban in 1857, to the cry of "Down with convents." The high tide of their power was reached in 1878, when the Liberals took office as a *ministère de combat*—the description is theirs—and inaugurated a Kulturkampf that lasted until 1884. Then amid the joy of a nation Catholic to the backbone, these petty imitations of Bismarck fell. They bequeathed three things to their Catholic successors—an impoverished exchequer, a costly system of godless education, and a desire for a reform of the electoral system. In ten years, the Catholics have filled the exchequer to overflowing while lessening taxation: they have created a cheap system of education in which religion has its part; and now they have reformed the electoral code.

This reform was not a matter of practical politics until the Liberals when last in office changed the incidence of taxation so as to deprive more than 65,000 electors of their Parliamentary votes. These were chiefly rural and Catholic electors. At that time, Article 47 of the Belgian Constitution

ordained: "The Chamber of Representatives is composed of deputies elected directly by citizens who pay the amount of taxes fixed by the Electoral Law which amount may not exceed 100 florins nor be less than twenty florins in direct taxation." An unscrupulous Government by clever manipulation of the fiscal laws had no difficulty in creating new and in disfranchising old electors for its own benefit. The wholesale manner in which the Liberals did this made men wish that taxation were not the shifting basis of the franchise. Even so moderate and cautious a statesman as the late M. Malou, speaking in June 1881, declared that manhood suffrage was to be preferred to the then existing state of things in electoral matters. Belgium too, it was felt, was behind the times with its narrow franchise. While France had more than 26, Switzerland 24, Germany 20, and England 12 electors to every hundred of its population, Belgium had barely two per cent., although the qualification had been lowered to the lowest limit allowed by the Constitution. Thirteen years ago, M. Malou estimated that of 1,700,000 male Belgians of age, only 116,000 enjoyed the Parliamentary franchise. Even last year when the taxes had been distributed more fairly, there were only 135,000 electors in a population of six millions and a quarter.

It became daily more and more evident that the electoral laws needed reform and the Constitution revision. But on what lines was its Forty-seventh Article to be revised? Conservatives were for keeping taxation as the basis of the franchise, but the qualification lowered to a merely nominal amount of five francs. This, it was reckoned, would bring up the number of electors to six or seven hundred thousand. The Liberal leader, M. Frère-Orban, would have supplemented this by the system he had introduced into the municipal franchise—that of electors who could show they had received at least an elementary education. Others preferred household suffrage; others a system for the representation of interests; others one for the representation of minorities. The Radicals and Socialists alone clamoured for manhood suffrage pure and simple. The majority of Belgians were opposed to it, all at least who had any stake in the country, or had the interests of religion at heart. They saw how manhood suffrage worked

in France and Germany, and did not envy their neighbours in their enjoyment of it. Such then was the state of public opinion in Belgium down to 1890.

In September of that year a Workmen's Congress was held at Brussels, at which resolutions were passed demanding manhood suffrage and authorising the leaders of the workmen's party to decree strikes, if needful, to obtain it. Thus backed, M. Paul Janson, the Radical member for Brussels, on November 27, 1890, renewed a motion, which had been rejected three years earlier, for a revision of the Constitution and especially of Article Forty-seven.

In reply to M. Janson's motion, M. Beernaert, the Catholic Prime Minister, rose, and to the surprise of all proposed that the motion should be considered. This the Chamber of Representatives unanimously voted by 118 members present. Why did M. Beernaert agree to take the motion into consideration? He is a sagacious politician. He knew that many of his opponents were opposed to any reform, but were ready enough to use any proposal for a revision against the majority. Could he force them to show their dislike to M. Janson's proposal, they would share with the majority the odium of rejecting it. Perhaps he saw that revision at no distant date was inevitable, and judged that it would be better for the Catholics to direct it while they had a substantial majority than to leave it to the Liberals to accomplish when they should be again in office. The immediate result of M. Janson's motion was to place the question of reform before the country, and the country at once took it up warmly. Newspapers debated it hotly; it was the theme of every speaker in every political gathering, the country was flooded with pamphlets on the subject. The Chamber, in accordance with its rules, divided into six sections to consider the motion. In each section it was warmly and on the whole unfavourably debated. There was a deal of clever fencing between the leaders of groups. In the end the motion was lost in committee by 51 votes against 36, with 17 abstentions. The country was disappointed at this negative result. The Central Section, composed of delegates from the six sections, next took up the question. It invited the Government to set forth its views which it did early in April 1891. Outside the Chambers, the

noisier part of the public was growing impatient at Parliamentary delays. Nevertheless it was not until November that M. De Smet de Naeyer, member for Ghent, now Minister of Finance, presented his long report—as able a document as ever was laid before any Parliament. After reviewing the various electoral systems in vogue in other countries, it recommended that all male Belgians above the age of twenty-five, occupants of a house not below a certain rental value, should be admitted to the franchise. M. Frère on behalf of the Liberals, added a note, adhering to his old views.

On February 2, 1892, the Chamber took into consideration the report and various proposals for revision of the Constitution. In accordance with the terms of the Constitution, it had to decide which of its articles were to be made subject to revision. The proposal to give the Crown a Royal referendum, that is power to appeal from Parliament directly to the people, was rejected. The Chamber and Senate having settled what articles should be subject to revision by the new Parliament at once dissolved. The general elections in June made no substantial change in the strength of parties. The Chamber of Representatives counted 93 Catholics and 59 Liberals; the Senate 49 Catholics against 30 Liberals. No party could command the two-thirds of the votes without which no article of the Constitution could be legally revised. The revision could therefore only be carried by coalitions and compromise. After modifying its rules of procedure to suit the circumstances, each House nominated a commission of twenty-one of its members to examine the different proposals for revision, and then adjourned.

A Royal speech opened the ordinary session in November. It was occupied in examining the various schemes for revision, and notably those for revising Article Forty-seven of the Constitution. Manhood suffrage pure and simple found no advocates in Parliament. M. Nothomb, a Catholic member, and MM. Janson and Féron, two Radicals, were in its favour under certain restrictions, at the age of twenty-five. M. Frère clung to a money and educational qualification for the franchise. M. Beernaert proposed in the name of his Government to give the franchise to all males of twenty-five years of age who owned land, or inhabited houses of at least a certain annual

value, or who held certificates of having had a college or university education, or who could pass an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic. The vote was to be obligatory ; it was to be considered a duty as well as a right.

None of these schemes commanded the two-thirds majority requisite. The debates went on until the eve of the Easter holidays of 1893. Then there was a general massacre and there was nothing left for the Chamber to debate. Revision had come to a dead-lock.

It was a solemn moment in the history of the little country. While the people's representatives sat in Parliament, staring blankly at one another, unable to find a formula for a franchise at once Democratic and Conservative, the Socialists, taking advantage of the situation, were stirring the people to revolt, and its first murmurs could be heard as distant thunder before the storm. The Civic Guards with the gendarmes and police were called on to keep order in the streets. Two classes of the army reserves were ordered to rejoin the colours to strengthen the various garrisons held in readiness to march at the first signal. Thanks to these energetic measures of the Government, mobocracy failed in its designs. Here and there disturbances took place ; at Mons the miners on strike came into collision with the Civic Guards who had to use their firearms with fatal effect. M. Woeste, the Catholic leader, and M. Buisson, the Liberal Burgomaster of Brussels, were the objects of personal aggression. The head Council of the Socialists proclaimed a general strike ; the miners came out in a body. At Ghent 20,000 weavers struck ; the red flag of Socialism was paraded in almost every town. How far these demonstrations hastened Parliament out of its deadlock it is difficult to say. The Government certainly showed itself firm at this critical moment, for not only did it take military precautions, but struck at the root of the evil by arresting M. Picard, a lawyer of Socialist proclivities who by speech and pen had excited the mob to anger. It also closed some of the Socialist haunts for a time. Just then M. A. Nyssens, member for Louvain, opportunely proposed to Parliament a new scheme for the revision of Article Forty-seven. How far the Government and the extreme Left inspired its author cannot be known until someone reveals the secret history of the affair. Anyhow the

Government accepted M. Nyssens' scheme, and the Radical Left promised to support the Government with thirty-four votes and to stop further agitation outside Parliament. Finally, after the Government had made their adoption a Cabinet question, the Nyssens' proposals were adopted by 119 votes against 14 and 12 abstentions. Ten days later, the Senate passed them by 52 votes against 1 and 14 abstentions. Manhood suffrage with certain guarantees attached to it had won its place in Belgian legislation. Some less important points of the Constitution were next revised, and the new Constitution was promulgated by Royal Decrees on September 7, 1893.

Article Forty-seven of the Belgian Constitution as amended by M. Nyssens' scheme, gives a vote for the election of members to the Chamber of Representatives to every male citizen, above the age of twenty-five, who has resided for not less than a year in the same commune, and who is not otherwise disqualified by law. A supplementary vote is given, first, to every such citizen over thirty-five, who is married or a widower with legitimate offspring, paying to the State at least five francs a-year in house taxes, unless, by his profession, he is exempted from such tax. Secondly, a supplementary vote is given to every citizen above twenty-five years of age, owner of property rated at not less than £80 a-year, or who holds Belgian *rentes*, or has a sum in the Post Office Savings Bank, yielding an income of not less than £4 per annum. Thirdly, two supplementary votes are given to citizens above twenty-five, who hold certificates showing they have received college or university education, or hold, or have held, positions presupposing such an education. These positions are defined by the new electoral law. In this category of electors come Cabinet Ministers, members and officers of Parliament; governors and secretaries of provinces; diplomatic officials and consuls; members of the royal academies; magistrates, judges, and clerks of the chief law-courts; barristers, notaries, doctors, veterinary surgeons and apothecaries; directors and secretaries of Government departments, museums and archives; professors of universities, military, engineering, and other colleges; professors in seminaries and school inspectors; masters of elementary schools who have taught for not less than five years; army and navy officers; all Catholic priests and such ministers of other religions as are

paid by the State. No elector has a right to more than three votes. The voting is secret and obligatory, but, of course, an elector may give a blank vote.

The Senate is elected by the same electors as the Chamber, except that its electors must be over thirty. Moreover, the Councils of the nine Belgian provinces elect twenty-six Senators, who are not required to have, as their fellow Senators, any property qualification. A Senator must be forty years of age at least; the king's sons, however, or, in default of such, princes of the royal blood become Senators by right at eighteen, but may only vote as such when twenty-five years of age. The property qualification where required of a Senator is either that he pay 1,200 francs in direct taxation, or enjoy real property yielding an annual income of 12,000 francs. Senators are unpaid, but members of the Lower House receive £160 a-year, and a free pass on the railway between their place of residence and that where Parliament meets.

Such, in its chief features, was the new system under which more than 1,035,000 Belgians voted. The number of electors had been decupled; how would the new electors vote? It was a leap in the dark; the wisest dared not predict. The results have certainly been surprising in four respects. First, in the unprecedented majorities which the Catholics secured at the polls and in Parliament. In the second ballot at Brussels, for instance, in the city which has been called "the head and heart of Liberalism," the Catholics headed the poll with 107,515 votes, a majority of nearly 12,000 over the Radico-Liberal coalition. Here, as elsewhere, the Catholics largely increased their forces in the week between the first and second ballots. The same has happened at the more recent elections for the provincial councils. Socialism is driving into the Catholic ranks all who have anything to lose. Secondly, the appearance in Parliament of thirty-four Socialist members, of whom until now there was not one in either House. It is from the mining and industrial districts of the Walloon country that the Socialist representatives have been returned. Thirdly, the wiping out of the old Liberal and Radical groups. In the Senate the Liberals hold now only twenty-four seats to fifty-two secured by the Catholics. To these must be added the twenty-six Senators elected by the provincial councils.

Of these nineteen are Catholics, five Liberals, and two Socialists. In the Chamber the Catholics hold one hundred and four seats, the Liberals only fourteen, while the remainder are filled by Socialists. The two Radical leaders, M.M. Janson and Féron, who pressed on the revision so energetically, have been victims of their work. The electors of Brussels have rejected them. M. Frère-Orban and the only three of his old Ministry, which for six years from 1878 so bitterly persecuted the Church in Belgium, who sought re-election failed to secure their seats. Of them and their friends we may say with Carlyle :—"They are all gone ; sunk,—down, down, with the tumult they made ; and the rolling and the trampling of ever new generations passes over them." Fourthly and lastly, we must note the solid manner in which all the Flemish-speaking parts of Belgium voted for Catholics, as also such large towns as Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent. The difference between the Walloon and Flemish parts is striking. There are many causes to explain it. We may mention two. In the Walloon country, the capitalists and clergy have not gone out to the masses as the priests and landowners have in Flanders. And again, the struggle for life, though it be hard enough among the Flemish peasants, has not that passionate fierceness which it assumes around the glaring furnaces and in the deep mines of the Walloon country.

It is there then that "the new generations" of Socialists are trampling over the corpses of their parents—the anti-Catholic Liberalism of yore. They have already shown their strength. In twenty-two electoral districts out of forty-one, they ran candidates who polled 335,277 votes. It is too soon to judge of the characters and capacities of the men Socialism has sent to the Belgian Parliament. The passions of the electoral period have not died away sufficiently to judge of men of whom very hard things have been written. Of their doctrines we may better speak. The Belgian Socialists denominate their doctrines by a term of which they claim the invention—that of Collectivism. The term is explained by a resolution passed at the Belgian Socialist Congress of last July :—"All wealth and all the means of production are the common inheritance of mankind." Under this system, men should enjoy all things in common. For the common good the

State should expropriate—as it now does land for railways and forts and barracks—all wealth and all the means, natural and artificial, for its production. The ideal of this Collectivism is to be found in the constitution of the island of Utopia ; its practice only—to a certain extent—among men who have made vows of poverty and obedience. Such are the economic principles of Belgian Socialism. But, as it knows well, their realisation is impossible without injustice, and as the chief, and we might almost add—since the gendarme, the criminal courts, and the code are little in respect nowadays—the only defender of justice is the Church, the Belgian Socialists, not less than their Liberal precursors are avowed enemies of all religion. A glance through the columns of their organs the *Vooruit* and the *Peuple* would convince the most sceptical on this point. Therefore, as the Bishop of Liège has pointed out, in his “Pastoral” of January 14th, 1894, on the Social question, no alliance is possible between Catholics and Socialists. In that document, which has had the warmest approval of the Holy See, his lordship wrote :—

Another principle of Christian prudence, which we must put in practice towards the enemies of God, of religion, and of society, is the *ne ave eis dixeritis* of St. John. No compromise, no alliance with the Socialists. If they seek some things which are lawful, we need not therefore abstain from seeking them likewise ; but we must let them go their way while we pursue ours. Our workmen can only suffer by contact with them.

Parliament no doubt can do much to combat Socialism. It can help the Government in keeping order in the streets, it can frame laws to lighten the burdens of the working classes, it can give them more comfortable dwellings, it can and must pass a law which will keep the municipal life of the country from being at the mercy of the Socialists. If the town-halls of Brussels or Antwerp, with all the influence, wealth, and authority they command, were to see the red flag of Socialism floating from their steeples, the future of Belgium would be imperilled. But it is outside Parliament the best work must be and is being done. The Catholics of Belgium feel that a great work has been cast on their shoulders. With God’s grace they will carry it through to success. In the oldest and most picturesque part of the old city of Bruges may be seen

a row of ancient edifices recently restored. It is the habitation of the Guild of *Ambachten* or Trades. The buildings are the gift of one of the Senators of the city, and are the trysting-place of masters and men where they may meet to settle their affairs—where with recreation they may combine business, where the labourer may hear of work, where he may put away his hard-earned savings in a popular bank, where he may get help to buy his needful tools, and where by useful lectures and popular journals he may learn sound doctrines and obtain useful knowledge. It is by the multiplication of such institutes, and actively helping in their working, that Belgian Catholics seek at Bruges and throughout their land to solve the social problem. The day is perhaps not distant when the masses will turn to the Catholics, and judge them by their fruits. Thousands who only yesterday voted for the Socialists were led astray by lying words. At Charleroi they were told if only they returned Socialists to Parliament, there would be on Martinmas Day a division of property. And this many—notably the miners' wives—believed. The Belgians, whether Walloons or Flemings, are a practical people. If the Socialists do not give them a slice, let alone the whole cake they have promised, their dupes will seek and find a more profitable course. And the electoral experiment may prove a blessing in having forced Socialism to the front, and, in so doing, opened the eyes of many to its false promises while stimulating Catholics, whether in Parliament or outside it, to renew their exertions on the lines laid down in the deathless Encyclical *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII.

WILFRID C. ROBINSON.

ART. VII.—MRS. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN.

A Memoir of Mrs. Augustus Craven. By MARIA CATHERINE BISHOP. London: Bentley. 1894.

THE middle of this century has produced two literary masterpieces whose "living record" dedicated to love made immortal by death:

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive.

Each was written when the feeling that inspired it had long been haloed in the perspective of memory, and each earned for a private sorrow the participation of a sympathising world.

But with this broad and general resemblance of motive, the parallel between "In Memoriam" and the "Récit d'une Sœur" comes to an end. For the half-despairing interrogation of nature and self, which is the key-note of the Laureate's dirge, is divided from the religious conviction irradiating Mrs. Craven's narrative, by all the gulf that lies between living faith and tentative speculation. No greater contrast could be found than that between the attitude of mind expressed in the familiar quatrain:

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope;

and that conveyed in such passages as the following; which we quote from Mrs. Craven's journal in the work before us:

Yesterday and to-day are days for me of dear remembrance, of sad and sweet thoughts which lie deep in my life—thoughts which are ineffaceable and always present as on the first day. Time is but a little thing, even on earth; the past is still so living, and the longest future so short that our span of life seems in reality but the dream to which it is so often compared, in which a long series of events takes place during a second. When I return in thought to that time of Albert's and Alexandrine's love, which seems so living and so near to me, the pain of uncertainty and waiting, and the separations which then appeared so cruel and of such consequence; when I recall their marriage and the flash

of happiness, followed by the gloomy days of their mortal suffering, which altered all, and the new life of Alexandrine after Albert's death, so interwoven in its reminiscence and aspiration that her lost joys were less often subjects of our conversation than those she looked for; all that passed more quickly than human prevision could have foreseen, and all is passed—finished; and already they have been reunited in heaven for a longer time than their love on earth lasted. More than that, they have taken possession of the ineffable things hidden even from our imagination, as well as of the reality of that which to us on earth seems happiness.

Beauty, youth, love, union, poetry, divine harmonies, delights of which ours are but shapeless promises—all that is theirs for ever in God; that is to say, realised beyond all that is given to us to understand.

Here indeed “the larger hope” is trusted, but not “faintly,” nor is there any hint of the wailing undertone in which the friend of Arthur Hallam cries:

O life as futile, then as frail!
O for thy voice to soothe and bless!
What hope of answer or redress?
Behind the veil, behind the veil.

The publication of the “*Récit d'une Sœur*” marks an epoch in literary history, not from its having been the pioneer of a school, since it was and remains the sole type of its class, unique and inimitable, but because of that very aloofness from the surrounding mass of intellectual production which isolates and exalts it on a pedestal apart. Belonging neither to the category of religious biography, theological speculation, or romantic literature, it yet combined some of the features of each, and came upon a world in which every form of mental utterance seemed exhausted, as the revelation of a new vehicle of expression. It required for its production a singular combination of circumstances and characters, a circle in which all the graces of the great world were combined with an interior life of almost mystical contemplation, and intense family affections with the highest gifts of birth and breeding, while its supreme note is struck by love, sublimated by religion and self-sacrifice. If so rare and exquisite were the materials blended in its composition, no less so were the qualities indispensable in her on whom devolved the task of selecting and collating them. That they were found in the subject of this memoir was proved by the world's acceptance of a work whose whole tenor is in contradiction to its ordinary canons of taste.

The fine flower of nineteenth-century womanhood, before its intellectual culture had been contaminated by that revolt against earlier ideals which threatens to convert it from a crown into a curse, she stood in all things at the parting of the ways, inheriting with the still lingering social prestige of the *ancien régime*, those wider views and enlarged horizons of thought afforded by the extended platform of the modern world. *Grande dame* to the tips of her fingers, she was in nothing more so than in the transparent simplicity conferred by superfine quality of inmost fibre of soul, which is the one inalienable birthright of an ancient race. Such absolute self-revelation as hers is rendered tolerable only by qualities of mind, inherited and transmitted through generations of culture, and incapable of forced production on the coarser soil of a *parvenu* nature. The difference can be illustrated by the example of another Frenchwoman, not less intellectually gifted, and equally capable of sounding the depths of her own nature. Madame Roland, the *bourgeoise* heroine of the Revolution, and saturated to the core with the essentially *bourgeois* vice of envy of those superior to her in station, had, under her classical drapery, a nature as crude as that of a fishwife, revealed with corresponding crudity in the underbred unreserve of her journal. The type of that middle class, whose standards in literature, art, and morality, rule modern France, she was as far from the homely dignity of rusticity on the one hand, as she was on the other from the courtly refinement of which the circle depicted in the "Récit d'une Sœur" is the highest exponent.

To the story told in that inimitable selection of family records, the two volumes now published by Mrs. Bishop are a necessary supplement. The one figure but dimly shadowed in the group is that of her whose hand wove the threads of the narrative together with such loving skill; for that "Pauline" who is the recipient of so many confidences, the consoler of so many sorrows, leaves her own individuality as much as possible in the background of the combined picture. The time has now come for filling in this blank, and giving its completion to the "Récit d'une Sœur" by a connected memoir of its author. Mrs. Bishop is qualified for the task, not merely by her own recognised literary ability, but by close and intimate friendship with the subject of her memoir, as well as by the possession, in

the shape of a large number of letters addressed to herself, of a considerable portion of the materials for it. She has wisely chosen Mrs. Craven's own method of biography, and allowed her mainly to tell her own story in her diary and correspondence, skilfully binding the disjointed fragments together by short interpolations of connecting narrative. The few passages in which she gives expression to her personal views by way of necessary comment, are written with the grace and literary acumen we should expect from her practised pen. Her self-suppression is therefore due to her evident wish to give her memoir as much as possible the autobiographical form which lends it a more special and superlative value.

It is mainly intended, as she states in her preface, to give a sketch of Mrs. Craven's life as it was known to English people, pending the appearance of a French biography in which its other aspects will be treated with greater amplitude of detail. Her private journal, from which many passages are translated, was lent by her niece the Duchesse d'Ursel, and her friend the Comtesse François de Grünne, by whose permission the extracts appear. In addition to the letters addressed to Mrs. Bishop herself, she has inserted many written to Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff and other friends, with whom Mrs. Craven corresponded in their own language. The materials thus rendered available are ample, and as her strong intellect and character impressed themselves on all her utterances, they furnish a clear and definite presentment of her striking personality.

Despite her French nationality, the accident of her parents' residence gives England some right to claim her as a citizen, for Pauline Marie Armande Aglae Ferron de la Ferronays was born on April 12th, 1808, in the heart of the busy hive of London, at 36 Manchester Street, and was described in her marriage certificate as an Englishwoman. The chance of birth foreshadowed the great love she bore this country, the dearest to her of the three in which she always declared she felt equally at home—France, Italy and England. With her father's Breton blood she inherited the Celtic warmth of nature which gave its peculiar charm to her character, and to the same source may be traced the strong religious convictions which form the inheritance of the old Armorican stock.

The life thus begun in exile was one of kaleidoscopic

variety and vicissitude, brilliant, in its opening years, with social distinction combined with ideal home interests, and overclouded towards its end by misfortunes accumulating on Mrs. Craven's head with every added year. Under these manifold trials her submission was unflinching, and they only helped to develop the beauty of a character tempered like annealed steel in the extremes of prosperity and adversity.

Of the eleven children born to Count and Countess de la Ferronnays, Pauline, the second, was junior to her eldest brother Charles by many years. Her parents lived to see seven of their children, three sons and four daughters, reach maturity, and share the interests and pleasures of their father's public and diplomatic career under the Restoration. His appointment as Ambassador at St. Petersburg in 1819 gave the Russian capital a conspicuous place in Pauline's early recollections, and here it was that she gained the childish but lasting friendship of that Mdlle. Alopeus, who, as the "Alexandrine" of the "Récit," was later to play so prominent a part in the family story. The eight years during which M. de la Ferronnays held this post covered the transition from childhood to girlhood of his eldest daughter, and his nomination as Foreign Minister under Charles X. in 1827, transferred her at nineteen to an equally brilliant sphere in Paris.

When Pauline was first launched on the society of the Restoration [says Mrs. Bishop] it was in its most sparkling effervescence. Lamartine was the rising star of poetry, eclipsing all former ones. Talleyrand and Châteaubriand in their tents, made their influence felt through the rising journalist-statesmen of that seething period. Even in religion the socialist Catholicism of La Mennais seemed to be singing the swan-song of the old order. Long-haired romanticists of the *Cénacle*, and the yet remaining spectres of the *Œil de Bœuf* were making those strange fusions and confusions described by Stendhal and Balzac. In politics M. de la Ferronnays and his friends, Hyde de Neuville, Lainé, and Martignac, thought that the King should keep the pledges of the *Charte*, and from him, no doubt, his daughter Pauline inherited a desire that whatever was good in the Revolution of 1789 should be retained, and the legitimate rights of men be developed in the best way. The air was full of generous impulses and utopian schemes, reconstructions were planned of all human institutions from the Papacy to the *Maison de Molière*. With her keen sympathies, Mdlle. de la Ferronnays entered into the burning thoughts of the day. Disputes in all questions of art were especially interesting to her, for she was an artist in temperament,

but of that art which always served religion as its first and final cause. Small and slight, her large dark eyes scanned her wide horizons with a certain dignified reserve, until her sense of beauty, moral and material, illumined them. Her smile was sweet, but it showed a hint of satire when her good sense was offended. She had beautiful teeth, perfect to the last, but in her indescribable dignity and distinction special criticism of perhaps too aquiline a nose, and too long a head for her height, disappeared.

Amid such surroundings the development of her keen intelligence could not fail to be rapid, but the scene of her life soon shifted again. Her father's health obliged him to resign his appointment and seek rest and change of climate for a time. Italy furnished the stage on which the next act of the drama of the La Ferronays family was to be played, and its scenery and atmosphere formed the romantic background of its further development. Rome, where M. de la Ferronays held for a short space the post of Ambassador, resigned after the Revolution of July 1830, was their residence in the spring of that year, exchanged for Naples when the cessation of official income necessitated retrenchment of expenditure. The impression made on Pauline's mind by a visit to the Catacombs, inspired her first literary essay, a descriptive sketch published by the Abbé Gerbet in his periodical *L'Université Catholique*, and afterwards embodied in his "Esquisses de Rome Chrétienne." But her life was at this period too full of change and excitement to admit of her following up her initial step in the career of letters, and she wrote later in her *Reminiscences*: "Having taken up my pen in this way during one hour in 1830, I laid it down not to use it again until thirty-seven years later, when I ventured to publish the memories which belonged to that period of my life."

The touching love-story of Albert, in narrating which his elder sister almost obliterates her own existence, began with his first visit to the Countess d'Alopeus, Alexandrine's mother, on January 17th, 1832. Then a youth of nineteen, whom delicacy of constitution had prevented from taking a profession, he had wisely resolved to avoid the temptations of Neapolitan society in study and travel, when all his faculties became absorbed in the attachment which dominated the rest of his short life. Like many of the most enduring passions, it was, on his side, kindled at first sight, and but stimulated by the

obstacles it encountered. Among these were his youth and uncertain position, as well as the difference of religion; for Alexandrine was a Lutheran. To this fact was due that remarkable coincidence in the prayers of the lovers to which their after fate gave such strange fulfilment. For in the first stage of their acquaintance, Albert, barefooted and in a monk's frock, made the pilgrimage of the Seven Basilicas for Alexandrine's conversion, offering up his life in exchange for it; while she, on her part, at fifteen years of age, when on the eve of confirmation, and perhaps troubled by doubts, had made a solemn abandonment of her earthly happiness, asking that at that price she might be brought "to a clear view of truth." Readers of the "*Récit*" will not require to be reminded how both prayers were simultaneously answered by Albert's early death, and Alexandrine's conversion as its consequence.

The later phases of their courtship were contemporaneous with Mrs. Craven's own. Her feelings at this personal crisis of her life find scanty place in the "*Récit d'une Sœur*," but they may be traced in the passage in which she states the summer of 1834, after the marriage of Albert and Alexandrine, to have been the happiest of the lives of all, when they had attained, without knowing it, the culminating point of their felicity. Her engagement to Mr. Craven had then been sanctioned after long opposition from the relations on both sides, and their marriage, followed by the Protestant ceremony, was celebrated by Mgr. Porta on August 28th, in the chapel of the Acton Palace at Naples.*

Augustus Craven, then an accomplished and handsome young man, "melodramatically so," as Mrs. Bishop expresses it, was two years older than his wife, with whom in artistic and literary tastes he had much in common. His father was Mr. Keppel Craven, whose mother, on her first husband's death, became Margravine of Anspach, and by this lady, who figures prominently in contemporary memoirs and correspondence, the boy was brought up. His birth was a mystery, and his mother's name remained unknown; but this drawback, to which he was himself painfully sensitive, did not prevent his

* This is the date in the "*Récit d'une Sœur*," though Mrs. Bishop gives August 24th.

being accepted in the society to which his father's birth and connections entitled him. Gazetted when very young to a commission in the Line, he left the army in 1830, to join the diplomatic service as attaché to the British Legation at Naples. Here his father too resided, and entertained much company both in his palace at Chiatamone and in an old convent in the mountains near Salerno, which he had bought and fitted up as a dwelling-house. He was at first violently opposed to his son's marriage to a Catholic, but was at last persuaded to give his consent and to render it possible by settling £500 a year on him, while at his death, in 1851, he left him a considerable amount of property.

The first act of the newly wedded couple was to seek an audience and blessing from the Pope, for Augustus Craven's conversion to his wife's creed was already accomplished, and his reception into the Church took place during their visit to Rome. Mrs. Craven's earliest married home was in Naples, which, however, lost some of its charm for her on its final abandonment by her own family in the following year, for the château of Boury near Gisors in Normandy, where a property had been bought to replace that sold in Touraine. In the spring of 1836 she made her first appearance in English society, whose highest circles were at once opened to her. Thenceforward England, her country by marriage and adoption, became to her a third home, dearer in the end of her life than the other two. Her visits to it during many subsequent years varied her residence in Lisbon, Brussels, and Stuttgart, in the course of her husband's diplomatic career.

Meantime that series of bereavements which left her life so desolate had begun with the death of Albert in June 1836, after two years and two months of ideally happy married life. This first gap in the family circle was not long the only one, for the death of M. de la Ferronays, in January 1842, was quickly followed by that of his two daughters, Eugénie (Mme. de Mun) and Olga, and by those of Alexandrine and of the Countess de la Ferronays in 1848. These were the "six deaths," of which the "*Récit d'une Sœur*" is the story, told with the pathos of a simplicity that is the highest art.

These years of sorrow were succeeded by some brilliant and prosperous ones, during which the current of her married

life flowed smoothly on, alternating between Naples, where Mr. Craven took up his residence on the death of his father in 1851, and visits to great houses in England, Broadlands, Bowood, Arundel, and others, where she and her husband were welcome guests. One bitter disappointment to hope and ambition fell to her lot in England, in the defeat of her husband in the contest for the representation of the Co. Dublin in the general election of 1852. He had thrown up his diplomatic career in the anticipation of a political one, and the want of occupation and active interest that preyed on him in subsequent years was not the least among her many crosses.

Their increase of fortune, however, rendered their position in Naples an additionally brilliant one, and the talent of both for theatricals was constantly turned to account in performances given at the private theatre of their own house in aid of the poor of the city. Here Mrs. Craven formed an intimate friendship with the Duchess Ravaschieri Fieschi, who wrote a memoir of her in Italian the year after her death. To this friend's little daughter Lina she attached herself with a passion, as Mrs. Bishop says, "rarely equalled by that of mothers," returned by the child with an affection which had an element of fascination. The blank left in her life by the want of children of her own was thus to some extent supplied, but an additional pang was in store for her in the death of this adored creature some few years later, after sufferings heartrending to witness in one so young.

But during some years of her life in Naples there was a brief truce with misfortune, and she enjoyed for a time all the interests that friends, wealth, and the various activities imposed by a high social position can confer. To a visit to England at this period belongs an anecdote of Lord Palmerston, recounted as follows in Mrs. Bishop's pages:

Lord Palmerston, at that time Prime Minister, meeting the Duc d'Aumale at a party where were also the Comte and Comtesse de Castiglione, mistook H.R.H., whom strangely he did not know by sight, for the husband of the very beautiful lady to whom Lord Palmerston had been just presented. Mrs. Craven was aghast at the unceremoniousness of the English Minister's manner. However, she helped to avert what threatened to become an international misunderstanding. She

invoked Lord and Lady Holland's help, who at first did not wish to be mixed up in the affair. Lord Palmerston asked for an invitation to dine on a day when the Duc d'Aumale was to be at Holland House, and repaired his inadvertent want of courtesy in his best manner.

Few who then knew Mrs. Craven as the delightful conversationalist and queen of society, at once sympathetic and brilliant, would have guessed that her true inner life was one of memories. Yet the long preliminary labour of the task of her later years had already begun. Her house in London, which she calls "the ideal home of which I dreamt," was sold in 1853 to her profound regret; and Naples, in many respects antipathetic to her despite its natural beauties, became her permanent abode. Not only its social distractions, but the lulling balm of its soft air, rendered difficult any sustained effort of mind:

Difficult [she says] because Naples is noisy as well as tiresome. For want of interest the mind grows sleepy, attention is distracted by the clatter, and recollection is almost impossible.

It was in this uncongenial atmosphere that she had set about the arrangement of the mass of family correspondence in her hands according to the sequence of Alexandrine's journal, and had begun to build up day by day the structure of her deathless monument to her dead. The idea of its actual publication grew slowly in her mind, and the materials when roughly cast into the form she had designed for them, were at first privately submitted to friends, among whom Mme. Swetchine was the chief. The influence of this wonderful woman in moulding Mrs. Craven's mind and thoughts was at this juncture very considerable, and her death in 1857 left an additional blank in her life.

She was witness as no one else was [says the journal for the following year] of the anxieties my life occasioned me. Often she said that I must make a refuge in my heart to which I could retire in times of uncertainty; she said that I needed an immovable central point in my soul, whatever were its external agitations. "Il vous faut l'assiette dans ce repos intérieur." She often repeated and wrote the phrase, and sometimes hurt me by so doing, because it did not seem applicable to what I was suffering at the moment—painful anxiety—anxiety about circumstances independent of my will. Sometimes she said to me

almost harshly, if the term could be applied to her sweet and gentle words, "You suffer because you are wanting in calm." And yet it appeared to me that I was not calm just because I suffered.

This interior stability of mind so necessary for the production of her work was much assisted by Mrs. Craven's acquisition, in 1858, of that rustic retreat among the mountains of Salerno, now consecrated by so many memories of her. A peasant's cottage on the hill of Castagneto, near the village of La Cava de' Tirreni, was transformed into the romantic villa so proudly shown to the stranger as the spot where the "*Récit d'une Sœur*" took form and shape in the mind of its author. A landscape, with the Apennines as background, and the Tyrrhenian Sea for its horizon, formed, in her own words, a curtain let fall between her and the great world, shutting out its crowded stage with a drop-scene of which Nature herself was the artist.

The family griefs which unceasingly haunted the inmost chambers of her heart, were renewed by the deaths of her two remaining brothers, Charles, the eldest, in 1863, and Fernand, the youngest, suddenly while in attendance on the Comte de Chambord, three years later. Pauline was thus the sole survivor of her immediate relations, the residuary legatee, as it were, of the sad documents recording their history. But the future of the "*Récit d'une Sœur*," now actually completed, was, in 1865, still uncertain, and the momentous question of its publication had yet to be decided.

In the spring of that year [Mrs. Bishop tells us] Mrs. Craven went to Paris that she might herself submit to some members of her family the ripened labour of the last twelve years, during which she had given to documents used in her immortal work that proportion and harmony which proved her so consummate an artist. The Comte's (now Marquis de Mun's) consent was required for the publication of his wife Eugénie's journal and letters. As he devoured the pages of the manuscript with indescribable emotion, he exclaimed: "No, I cannot allow these pages of Eugénie's life to be given to the world. In any case, the letters written after our marriage must be suppressed." The blow was great to Mrs. Craven. She told M. de Montalembert (the friend of Albert's youth) what her brother-in-law had said, and he agreed that he also would have felt the same. "I believe that you will have to await the death of all concerned before you can publish these records," he added: while more than one person, revered by her, frankly assured her that it were better

to put them in the fire than submit them to a doubtful public. Mrs. Craven writes: "A voice in my heart, however, said, Courage: the example of those dear souls will do good in a much wider circle than that narrow one of your Paris intimates. This assurance conquered in me my own distrust, and overcame the opposition of others."

It was by the intercession of M. de Mun's second wife, Eugénie's successor, that his consent was eventually gained, while the change in his sentiments worked by time, was shown in his request to Mrs. Craven to write a memoir of this lady many years later.

The general sale of the "*Récit*" was, however, still interdicted, and when the first volume appeared early in the year 1866, only 500 copies were printed for a very restricted circulation. But the book was not destined to such comparative obscurity, and its immediate success overcame all further objections to publicity. In two days the first 500 copies were sold, and in a few months it had run through nine editions. It may be said to have made an epoch in religious literature as a revelation of the sanctifying influence of faith on lives passed amidst the most brilliant scenes of gaiety and fashion. Among the many lessons taught by it, this was, if not the highest, at least the most novel, and the one that perhaps constituted its chief fascination for the public.

It was not given to many of its readers to understand its title to their sympathy [says Mrs. Bishop] but the sympathy was certainly felt. Mrs. Craven was almost bewildered by finding herself among many new acquaintances, who insisted on talking to her of her dead with strange intimacy. There were, in truth, relationships formed by our common aspirations which took tangible shape in the "*Récit*," where a family known to so many as popular, agreeable, and accomplished, were suddenly discovered to have lived in a region where the pain of life was transfigured, and the shadow of death was lifted, and the common events of humanity took new forms, so that their drift was reversed. No wonder so many desired to join the happy and beautiful souls described to them: for hope is given to all. Yet, no doubt there were a few, and those belonging chiefly to the Faubourg St. Germain, who dreaded what was unconventional in its pages.

In that august circle, indeed, we are told that mothers had been heard to say that they should prefer that their girls should read Paul de Kock rather than the story of the innocent

love of Albert and Alexandrine. But these few dissident voices were merged in the general verdict of admiration, since ratified by the lapse of nearly thirty years. Among the many new friends it won for its author was Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, and the effect of the work in earning a real personal love for those so long dead, was illustrated by his pilgrimage to Lumigny, merely in order to visit the grave of Eugénie, and see the place that had been her home. He continued to be one of Mrs. Craven's most constant correspondents, and the present volumes contain a number of very interesting letters addressed to him by her. In the first of these she says:

What I feel most touched by, and most thankful for, in the letter I have just received from you, is your saying that the "*Récit d'une Sœur*" is not a book. You know, therefore, also that you are not receiving at this moment the thanks of an author. But as you feel also (for no one seems to have sympathised with me so thoroughly) that there must have been on my part a great deal of reluctance and dread to overcome before I could bring myself to publish a story so dear, so *intime*, so thoroughly my own, you must understand how deeply thankful I am when I feel that I did well to overcome that reluctance, and that I am justified in introducing my dear beloved ones to many who never knew them upon earth, and in hoping that the recollection of their lives might be useful and consoling to others besides myself.

The publication of the "*Récit*" paved the way for that in serial form in the *Correspondant* of "*Anne Séverin*," a novel previously written, soon followed in the same pages by that of "*Fleurange*" and "*Le Mot de l'énigme*," the most powerful of the author's works of pure fiction. Its drama of passion and temptation has for its background that Neapolitan society so intimately known to her, and its leading incident, in which a flash of supernatural illumination averts the shipwreck of a soul, is, as she has herself declared, the presentment of literal fact. It embodies more of her own experiences than any other of her works, and its lofty purpose gains added weight from the veracity of its portraiture of life in its most frivolous aspects.

In the life of Natalie Narischkin, a devoted Sister of Charity, and early friend of her sister Olga, she had a congenial theme, associated with her dearest memories, while an article in the *Correspondant* on Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on "Vaticanism,"

vindicating the Catholics of England from the charge of disloyalty there brought against them, showed the versatility of her powers. Her literary income formed an addition to her resources that was no longer to be despised, for the decline of her fortunes had been contemporaneous with the rise of her fame. Her husband's once ample means had gradually been swallowed up in disastrous speculation, and pecuniary misfortune, eventually culminating in ruin, was one of the many forms of trial appointed for her brave spirit. Furniture, family pictures, all the prized treasures of an artistic home, had to be sacrificed, and agonising calculations as to the possibility of life, even on the most straitened basis, occupied her thoughts during many of her later years. Yet no word of complaint escapes her, and her cheerful courage in adapting herself to circumstances so untoward, is not less admirable than her efforts to supplement the woeful deficiencies of fortune. Thus she made a great sacrifice of personal feeling in publishing her "Meditations," containing her most intimate thoughts on religion, in order that she might be able, out of the proceeds, to make a provision for a faithful servant, whose future she saw no other means of securing. This was the volume which, having omitted as too insignificant from the copies of her works sent to the Queen in 1883, she had to add at the special request of Her Majesty, who sent her word that she was reading the "Récit" for the first time with great interest, and that she desired to possess "all the books" she had written, with her name in each. She was much gratified to receive in return all the Queen's works, some unpublished and of all the greater value, with her name inscribed in them by Her Majesty's own royal hand. A less complimentary view of her position in literature was taken by another English critic, as she tells in a letter to Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff:

Did I tell you that Lord Ronald Gower, in his "Reminiscences," describing a party at Wrest Park, says that "he met there a remarkable Frenchwoman with a handsome Dante face (I should call that a handsome ugly face) well known for having written several goody-goody books—amongst others the 'Récit d'une Sœur,' which he had attempted to read, but had not succeeded in getting through. Of course, I don't approve of this judgment, but the book is full of many things that amused me nevertheless."

The death of her husband, in 1884, left her utterly alone, and very desolate. "Life (she writes to Mrs. Bishop in a later letter) has now to me the appearance of a once brilliantly illuminated church, where, one by one, the lights are being all extinguished, leaving only alight the lamp of the sanctuary—the real light which happily cannot die out." During the remaining years of her life, she brought out another novel, "*Le Valbriant*," known to English readers in Lady Herbert's version as "*Lucia*," and the "*Life of Lady Georgina Fullerton*," her last work.

She had not yet drained the cup of suffering to the dregs, and a last agonising martyrdom awaited her. Stricken down by partial paralysis in April 1890, she lost all power of coherent speech in the following June, and survived ten months in that state of painful deprivation. Her other faculties remained clear and unclouded, but the gift of utterance that had been hers in such large measure was taken from her, and for the eloquence of her "golden voice" was substituted a pathetic and unmeaning babble—its "sweet bells jangled out of tune." Death released her on April 2nd, 1891, when she had nearly completed her eighty-third year.

Her long life was a mystery of suffering that makes the heart ache with the "why" that has no answer on this side of the grave. All her hopes failed, all her prospects faded, and all she loved perished, even to the stranger's child that she had taken to her empty heart. So strangely did fate persecute those in whom she felt an interest, that after successive misfortunes to three infants for whom she had been sponsor, she refused for the rest of her life to act in that capacity. Even the temple of fame she entered as a mourner, and her literary crown was jewelled with tears. Feeling and intellect were in her so closely interwoven, that only the severe discipline of adversity could have developed those deeper sides of her character, whose evolution was concomitant with her mental growth. On no other terms could she have risen to her vocation as the interpreter of sorrow irradiated by faith, the grave Muse of memory uplifted by Christian hope.

Yet she must always have been a remarkable woman, many-sided in her gifts, as the letters included in this volume suffice in themselves to show. There was no question of her day on

which her judgment was not clear, and her power of lucid statement masterly. Of the politics of three countries she had a statesmanlike grasp, while her vivid intuitions and passionate sense of right enabled her to divine the truths that others could only grope blindly after.

“Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of love,” her scorn and hate were impersonal, directed only against wrong and injustice, while her love was for her faith, her friends, and humanity at large.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. VIII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION.

1. *Sakramente und Sakramentalien.* Von Dr. F. PROBST.
Tübingen. 1872.
2. *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien.* Par L'ABBÉ L. DUCHESNE.
Paris. 1889.

THE history of the two sacraments of initiation into the Christian life is only secondary in importance to that of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. Indeed, from a merely historical point of view their history has this advantage, that the changes made during the last fourteen centuries in the administration of Baptism and Confirmation have been even fewer than those in the Mass itself. The rites attending those two sacraments carry us back therefore directly to the days of the infant Church ; and we can easily picture to ourselves the impressive scene, when, on the eve of Easter or Pentecost, the catechumens went through the final ceremonies prescribed for their initiation, renounced Satan and all his works, and professed their acceptance of the doctrines and practices of that religious body, which, though small and despised, was beginning already to leaven the world.

The subject has naturally attracted less study than has been devoted to the Liturgy proper, but modern authorities are not wanting. The work of Probst, which stands at the head of this article, has left little more for his successors to do than the task of filling in details, and of adding a few points which had escaped him, or which have become known since his time. The work suffers to some extent by its being strictly limited to the first three centuries ; for the ante-Nicene history of these sacraments is hardly intelligible, apart from the ritual development of the period immediately following. Happily, M. Duchesne's excellent book takes up the subject at the fourth century, from which point onwards no better guide could be desired. Of older writers, Dom Martène is perhaps the most useful ; and almost all our information is of course derived

from the Fathers, and from the invaluable notes of the great Benedictine editors, especially those on St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, above all from Dom Toutée's commentaries on St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Among Anglican writers, Dr. Mason, whose recent work I shall have occasion to refer to,* merits high praise for his candour and learning. I should be going out of my way were I to discuss his main thesis, which is, that Baptism and Confirmation form but one sacrament, but that each has its specific effect, which in the case of Confirmation is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. This is, of course, a nearer approach to Catholic doctrine than the ordinary Anglican view, which Dr. Mason rightly says is not to be found in the primitive Church; but it is open to like historical objections, besides the obvious difficulty of conceiving a sacrament which should be single, and yet double in all that constitutes a sacrament.

It does not seem that much light is to be thrown on the details of these two sacraments by an examination of the ceremonies used by the Jews. Schürer and others indeed have supposed that the so-called baptism of the proselytes served as a precedent for St. John; but this rite is most probably later than the fall of Jerusalem, as it is not mentioned by Philo, Josephus, or the Talmud.† The Baptist is much more likely to have followed the example of the frequent washings prescribed by the old Law, and multiplied by the Pharisees. In like manner, the laying on of hands, anointing with oil, and the use of unguents, were customs familiar to the Jews, and were, for that reason, raised by our Lord to the office of conveying and symbolising the moral and spiritual gifts His Apostles were to impart. It is important at the present day to bear in mind the very obvious truth, that Christianity had its origin in a nation where these external practices were habitual, and that they were adopted by our Lord for His own and His disciples' use. By practically leaving the New Testament out of account, a modern school, of which Dr. Hatch has been the most influential member in England, has been able to gain credence for the view that all such rites are of heathen origin and due

* "The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism in the Western Church." By Dr. A. Mason.

† See Schanz on Matt. iii. 6.

to the influence of Greek thought and practice on the early Church. If, however, the New Testament and the ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries are studied together, they will be recognised as parts of one organic whole, and either will be found to throw much light on what is obscure in the other.

There are, as is well known, two forms for baptism in the Roman Ritual, that used for the baptism of adults differing considerably in its ceremonies from that of infants. The latter is, however, almost entirely an abridgment of the former, which alone I shall examine here. On close study, its internal evidence strongly suggests that it has been condensed, and that the prayers and ceremonies which now immediately precede baptism must originally have been spread over a much longer time. Thus the three renunciations of the devil and his works, and the three interrogations as to the faith, occur twice, at the beginning and just before baptism. The candidate is made to repeat the Lord's Prayer thrice; and after each recital the godparent is bidden to make the sign of the cross on the candidate's forehead. The language of some of the prayers and exorcisms points in the same direction; for instance, it is said that the candidate "*in huius seculi nocte vagatur incertus et dubius,*" and "*ut idoneus efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi, percepta medicina.*"

The history of the administration of the sacrament entirely confirms this view. The earliest examples of baptism in the Acts, indeed, show us that it was often conferred without more preliminary instruction or preparation than was needed to elicit an act of faith in our Lord and of desire to be baptized. But in most of these cases there was no time for detailed instruction, and sometimes (as in the first reception of Gentile converts into the Church) the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit took the place of further training. But we also find instances—such as the gradual instruction of Apollos—which show that time when available was taken before baptizing converts; and the "catechizers" of Gal. vi. 6, and "pedagogues" of 1 Cor. iv. 15, imply that St. Paul had at least made considerable way towards the establishment of the catechumenate. The education of intending converts would clearly run on one of two lines, according as they started from

Judaism or heathenism ; and hence common schemes of instruction would become convenient, if not necessary. The *Didache* fortunately supplies us with evidence of such a scheme, in its simplest, and probably earliest, form. The first six chapters of that work are made up of precepts and prohibitions, chiefly moral, based on the love of God and one's neighbour, which we are expressly told were to be taught to candidates for baptism.* This seems to have been mainly, if not exclusively, intended for converts from Judaism, who were already sufficiently acquainted with the fundamental doctrine of the unity of God, and with the Decalogue. But those who approached the Church from heathenism—who soon became the great majority of all converts—had much more to unlearn and to learn before they could be received. It is clear, even from the account given by St. Justin, and yet more from Clement and Tertullian, that the catechumens first learned those truths of natural religion and morality which heathenism had confused and obscured ; and then were instructed in the mysteries of revealed religion.†

Origen tells us, what we should naturally expect, that an inquiry was first made as to the probable sincerity of the candidate for further instruction, and also into such of his circumstances, whether a slave, soldier, married or single, &c., as might be a difficulty in the way of his reception. If the result of this inquiry was satisfactory, the candidates were admitted into the catechumenate, in which they were usually kept about three years. Apparently the admission to the catechumenate was marked by an explicit profession of desire on the part of the inquirer to be received into the Church, made to the Bishop or his delegate, who made the sign of the cross on the candidate's forehead. Tertullian's language‡ suggests that the opening words of our present baptismal service date at least from his day ; and that they are the remains of the ceremony of reception into the catechumenate. The catechumens were then instructed in the elementary truths

* *Βαπτίζετε ταῦτα πάντα προεπιόντες.* (*Did.* 7, 1.)

† So much, I think, is certain from Probst's detailed account (*Lehre und Gebet*, pp. 79-182), although Prof. Funk has shown that there is not sufficient evidence that the catechumens were formally divided into two or three classes, as Probst and others had supposed.

‡ "*Norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris.*" (*Bapt.* 18.)

of natural and revealed religion, the general lines of the Rule of Faith being followed, and they were also carefully trained in the vast difference between the Christian and heathen standards of morality. Clement's "Paedagogus" gives a good idea of the profound and detailed practical education which a Pagan needed before reception into the Church of Christ; and this is no doubt the explanation of what may seem to us the long time during which the catechumens were detained under instruction and observation. They were probably not allowed to go further until they professed their readiness and ability to take up the responsibilities of a Christian life, and to bear the yoke of the Gospel.*

We learn from Tertullian that the proximate preparation for baptism lasted forty days, occupying therefore the time of Lent, if—as was the rule—the sacrament was conferred at Easter. During this period the catechumens were more fully instructed in the mysteries of the faith, and probably to some extent in the nature of the sacraments they were so soon about to receive; they also learned by heart the baptismal Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Probst remarks that in the "Testimonia" of St. Cyprian we apparently have a specimen of part of the catechetical course of dogmatic instruction; while the character of the practical teaching of prayer is exemplified in the commentaries on the "Pater noster" which Origen, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian have left us.

These forty days of immediate preparation for the sacraments were rendered still more solemn by the religious practices and ceremonies which were assigned to them. In the East, we are told by an author of the second century,† that "fastings, supplications, prayers with outstretched hands, and genuflexions precede baptism"; while Tertullian uses the same language in the West.‡

On examining these in detail, we shall find that the ceremonies of this stage of the catechumenate constitute almost entirely the pre-baptismal part of our present Ritual.

In the Church of Africa—and therefore, we may safely

* Didache, 6; S. Justin, *Apol.* i. 61.

† Excerpta Theodoti, 88.

‡ "Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris ieiuniis geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet, et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum." (*Dē Bapt.* 20.)

conclude, in that of Rome—the beginning of this period was marked by a formal renunciation of the devil, of his pomps and his works. This was distinct from the renunciation which immediately preceded baptism, though it was made in the same words: Tertullian* expressly mentions the repetition, which, as I have remarked above, is to be found in the baptism of adults at the present day.

This first renunciation was made, not in the baptistery, but in the church,† in the presence of the Bishop who placed his hand on the head of the candidate and exorcised him.‡

This renunciation almost everywhere had the form of answers to questions, as at present. The only exception was apparently the Church of Syria, especially in Jerusalem, where the neophyte, turning to the West, “the region of darkness,” addressed the devil as present, and with outstretched hands said: “I renounce thee, Satan.”§ The word “pomp,” common from the earliest period to the East and West, carries us back to a time when the danger of indirect idolatry spread over almost every detail of daily life.||

The renouncement of Satan was followed by a short profession of faith, which also was in the shape of answers to questions, everywhere but in Syria. This form was that adopted by the Roman law in all solemn contracts, and must have been used for the engagements entered into at baptism from the earliest times. One cannot lay stress on the interrogation of the Eunuch by Philip (Acts viii. 37), because of the uncertainty of the text; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the *ἐπερώτημα* of 1 Peter iii. 21 refers to the interrogation at baptism, and it is highly probable that the *ὁμολογία* of 1 Tim. vi. 12 does so also.¶ In the next century there is sufficient evidence that the custom was general throughout the

* Cor. Mil. 3; de Spectac. 13.

† So St. Justin, Apol., i. 61; and Tertullian, “aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiassse diabolo et pompae et angelis eius.” (Cor. Mil. 3.)

‡ “Per manus inpositionem in exorcismo.” (Conc. Carthag. vii., and Conc. Illib. Can. xxxix.)

§ St. Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst. i. 2; Const. Apost. vii. 41.

|| “The pomp of the devil is the folly of theatres and hippodromes and hunts and all such vanity.” (Cyr. Hier, *loc. cit.*; Tertullian de Spectac. 24.)

¶ The tenses point to some definite occasion when this confession was made, and that it was when the disciple was called to eternal life; therefore to his baptism, and not to ordination, as has been supposed.

entire Church,* and at any rate by the third century the form had been long fixed;† and was the same as the one used now.‡ It included, besides a profession of faith in the Blessed Trinity, an act of faith in the sacrament of baptism. In Jerusalem, the candidate turned to the East, and said: "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of penance."§

The forty days thus begun were employed in instructing the convert more fully, and especially in impressing on him the enormity of sin, and in training him for the Christian life. Fasting and other bodily mortifications occupied a prominent place. We have seen these mentioned by Theodotus and Tertullian, but there are much earlier evidences of the former; the Didache and St. Justin, agreeing in this as in so many points, tell us that at any rate early in the second century those who assisted at a baptism fasted as well as the convert.||

Another important preparation for baptism was confession. This is mentioned by Tertullian, but his language has been generally thought to refer to a general self-accusation—such as that in the Mass, or at Prime or Compline—and not to a specific confession of sins. But I think with Probst that it is impossible to read Tertullian's words with care, and to doubt that he intended the latter. The confession he speaks of was a secret, not a public, one; and the shame of making it was part of the satisfaction for sin.¶ Somewhat later, in the East we find evidences of the same** in various places. Tertullian refers to Matt. iii. 6 as a precedent; he seems therefore to have believed the confession made before John's baptism was also a specific one, as indeed the plural "sins" would naturally but not certainly imply. He does not notice the closer parallel

* Dionysius of Alexandria (Eusebius, H. E., vii. 9); Tertullian de pud. 9, and Res. curn., 48; Origen in Exod. hom. v. 1.

† "Usitate et legitima interrogationis verba." (Firmilian in Cyp. Opera, ed. Hartel, p. 818.)

‡ St. Cyprian, p. 768. The closing words of cap. 61 of St. Justin's Apology suggest a formula like our own.

§ St. Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst. i. 9; Const. Apost. loc. cit.

|| Didache, vii. 4; Apol. i. 61; see also Clem. Recog., iii. 67; vii. 37.

¶ "Nobis gratulandum est si non publice confitemur iniquitates aut turpitudines nostras; simul enim satisfacimus de pristinis conflictatione carnis et spiritus, et de subsecuturis temptationibus munimenta praestruimus." (De Bapt., 20.)

** Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst. i. 5 and ii.; Eusebius, Vita Const. iv. 61; Socrates, H. E., v. 17.

of Acts xix. 8, where the confession was apparently a specific one, and made by persons who believed, but were not yet baptized. A little later still, we find confession before baptism usual in St. Ambrose's day in Milan.* Frequent prayer in the penitential position of kneeling was enjoined; and the candidates were repeatedly examined to ascertain if they were fit subjects for receiving the sacraments. The "scrutinia" were held everywhere, but with most solemnity in Rome, where they were repeated seven times during Lent.† The most important of them was on the Wednesday of the fourth week in Lent, when the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were solemnly delivered to the catechumens. This day, called "*in apertione aurium*," is still characterised in the Roman Missal by the beautiful Ferial Mass of the day, all of which refers to the sacrament about to be conferred. The usage differed in details in different Churches of the West; for instance, it appears from several passages of St. Augustine that in Africa the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were repeated by the candidate after some days' interval, so as to ensure their being perfectly remembered. I suppose this was originally the Roman custom also, and that this was the source of the repetition of the "*Pater noster*" in the present baptism of adults. We learn from several authors that special attention was paid in Rome to the verbal accuracy of the Creed, which the catechumens recited from a raised platform.‡

Having learned the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, the convert passed into the class of the "*competentes*," and his name was given in for baptism, if this had not been done at the beginning of Lent; for the practice evidently varied.§

The choice of a "*Christian*" name must have been common in the East at a very early period;|| and must have been required to take the place of names derived from heathen mythology, which would be abhorrent to Christians. With this was connected the institution of sponsors or godparents,

* In Lucam, lib. 6; see, too, the author of the *De Sacramentis*, iii. 2.

† Martène tells us that the Churches of Laon and Vienne still retained the "*scrutinia*" when he wrote.

‡ St. Aug. Conf. viii. 2.

§ De Sacram, iii. 2.

|| Clem. Recog. iii. 67; Dionysius of Alexandria in Eusebius, II. E., vii. 25; and the case of the martyrs of Palestine.

first explicitly mentioned by Tertullian,* although the custom must have existed before his time.†

Corresponding with these preparations on the part of the catechumen, a series of ceremonies were prescribed for the ministers of the sacrament. I have already mentioned that the period of immediate preparation for baptism began with an exorcism and reconciliation of the convert, marked by the Bishop's laying hands on the candidates, and making the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Similar rites and exorcisms were frequently repeated during Lent at the scrutinia; and are the origin of those in the pre-baptismal part of our present service. Some of these were accompanied, as now, with insufflation and exsufflation, of which there is abundant evidence in the Eastern Church;‡ and which was called a "consuetudo antiqua," by St. Augustine in the West.§

Touching the nose and ears with saliva seems to have been a Western custom of rather later date; at any rate, the earliest evidence I find of it is in St. Ambrose,|| in whose day the same words seem to have been used as at present.

The use of salt is not certainly mentioned until later still; for a passage which has been relied on in Origen¶ is probably allegorical; and a reference of the date of St. Cyprian and two passages in St. Augustine are also doubtful.** Excluding these, we find it expressly mentioned first in the letter on baptism of Joannes Diaconus to Senarius.†† written about 512; and then by St. Isidore about a century later.

While these ceremonies were apparently introduced, others were omitted, such as the washing of the feet, at one time

* De Bapt. 19.

† Hippolytus (ix. 15) tells us that the Elchasaites had seven sponsors who undertook that the neophyte should lead a moral and religious life. According to the Areopagite, the ἀναδύχος assisted in the instruction of the candidate. (Cael. Hier. 2.)

‡ *Φυσήσεις τε καὶ ἀντιφυσήσεις* (Greg. Naz.); καὶ ἐμφυσήσῃς, καὶ ἐπορκισθῇς (Cyr. Hier.).

§ De Nupt. et Conc. ii. 29; de Symbolo, i. 6; see, too, Tertullian, Apol. 23.

|| De Myst. 1. The Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose date this treatise about 387. The author of the De Sacramentis, i. 1, puts this as the first of all the baptismal ceremonies; but also mentions a touching of the eyes at the time of admission to the "competentes." This diversity leads one to suppose the rite must have been already one of some antiquity.

¶ "Non es aqua lota in salutem, nec sale salita." (Hom. 6, in Ezech. 6.)

** Conc. Carth. viii. 8; Confess. 11; Cat. Rud. 26.

†† Migne, P. L., lix. p. 399.

general, but prohibited by the 48th Canon of Elvira, probably because a sacramental efficacy had become erroneously attached to it.*

In Rome, and in most other parts of the West, these preliminary ceremonies were performed in the church, where the catechumens assisted at the earlier part of the Liturgy, which during Lent seems to have been specially designed for their instruction; while in Milan and a few Oriental Churches the baptistery was used for the purpose.†

It is clear from St. Justin's language that a special baptistery was in use by the middle of the second century; and it was everywhere employed for the rites immediately preceding baptism. These began on Holy Saturday morning by reading the "Prophecies," which summed up all the instruction that had been given as to the dealings of God with mankind under the dispensations that had prepared the way for Christianity. Then followed the anointing with oil; a ceremony which has had a remarkable history. The earliest evidence for it is almost entirely found in writings of an heretical, or at least a doubtful, character; such as the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the practice of certain Gnostic sects mentioned by St. Irenæus, and the Clementines.‡ Dr. Hatch, following Renan, infers from this that anointing was derived from the influence of non-Christian, Oriental, ideas.§

He omits, however, to take into account that the symbolical use of oil was familiar to the Jews, and was sanctioned by our Lord and the Apostles; so that we need not look beyond the New Testament for examples of Christian anointing. And it is hardly conceivable that a custom of Gnostic origin should have attained such importance in the Church in the next and the following centuries, when orthodox writers agree in putting the pre-baptismal anointing almost on a level with baptism itself and with confirmation.|| It is far more likely that the

* See de *Mysteriis*, 6, and the notes to de *Sacram.* iii. 1.

† The details may be found in Dom Toutée's *Diss.* 2, cap. 5, on St. Cyril.

‡ *Acta Matthæ et Thomæ*, ed. Tischendorf, pp. 186, 213; *Adv. Haer.* i. 21, iii.; *Recog.* iii. 67; and the third letter of Clement.

§ Hibbert *Lectures*, 1888, p. 308.

|| *Const. Apost.* iii. 15; vii. 22, 42; *St. Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst.* ii. 3; *St. Joan. Chrys. Hom.* 6 in *Col.*; *Cael. Hier.* 2; *Theodoret in Cant.*; qu. 137 ad *Orthod.* among the works of St. Justin; and *Can. Hippolyti*, xix. 9, 10.

heretics took with them this ceremony with others when they left the Catholic Church.

It will be observed that all the authorities I quote are Oriental, and that there is no such early evidence of anointing in the West; indeed, the silence of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, and an incidental remark of St. Optatus, seem to prove that it was not in use, at least in Africa, in their time. But it must at any rate have been customary in Rome and Gaul before the fifth century; for a reply either of Siricius or Innocent I. to certain bishops of the latter country shows it must then have been established;* and there is abundant evidence of it later in the Latin Church. The symbolical meaning of this anointing is variously stated: Höfling is too absolute in saying that in the East a positive *grace* is assigned to it, while in the West its effect was considered as negative. The commonest view is that expressed by St. John Chrysostom, that the catechumen is "anointed like the athletes before they go into the stadium." The unction was followed by a repetition of the renunciations which had been pronounced at the beginning of Lent;† after which the font was blessed, this being mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, by SS. Cyril and Basil, in the East, and by St. Ambrose and the author of the "*de Sacramentis*" in Italy; the Areopagite is the first to speak of the addition of chrism to the blessed water. But it is impossible to read Tertullian's treatise on baptism‡ without recognising the identity of thought, and even of language, with the present Blessing of the Font on Holy Saturday; and one is inclined to believe that Tertullian was amplifying a ritual already existing, rather than to suppose that the Church adopted the words of that author. In either case it carries us back to the second century.

The catechumen's clothes were now entirely put off, if, as in the East, that had not been already done before the anointing; even rings were taken off, and he went down into the font and

* *Canones ad Gallos*, 11, in Constant. The text is hopelessly corrupt; but it is clear that the Pope lays down it is immaterial when the "*oleum exorcizatum*" is used, provided it be before baptism. See, too, *de Sacramentis*, i. 2.

† "*Aquam adituri ibidem sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiassse diabolo et pompae et angelis eius.*" (Tertullian *Cor. Mil.* 3, and *Spectac.* 4; *de Sacramentis*, i. 2; and *de Mysteriis*, 2.)

‡ Especially caps 2-5 and 9.

was immersed thrice.* A single immersion seems to have been introduced in Spain to emphasise the unity of the Godhead, and was first distinctly permitted by St. Gregory the Great. Baptism by immersion is still prescribed by the Ritual where it is the custom, and was undoubtedly the rule in the early ages of the Church. But the validity of affusion has of late years received a very unexpected primitive witness in the *Didache*, and was evidently employed in the "clinical" baptism of the sick.

I have now reached a point at which it is convenient to break off, since the subject cannot be dealt with in one article, even in the very imperfect way which is all I have been able to attempt. I hope to be able to take it up on some subsequent occasion, to complete the history of baptism, and to give an account of confirmation.

J. R. GASQUET.

* Tertullian de Bapt. 13, and adv. Prax. 26.

ART. IX.—THE DISPENSING POWER.

TO many minds outside the Catholic Church the word “dispensation” inspires a certain measure of distaste and distrust. To the uneducated it seems “a permission to break the law;” to some, better informed, it seems “an evasion of the law,” and to many it seems a form of privilege which traverses the grand principle of the equality of all members of a community before the law—a principle which is rightly felt to be one of the most sacred safeguards of social morality. To a Catholic, and especially to a canonist, a dispensation is none of these things. It is not a breach, nor an evasion, but a natural and necessary supplement of the law; it does not mar the equality of citizens before the law, but, on the contrary, aims at securing it. The *rationale* of the dispensing power may be said to lie in two simple truths of natural reason. The first is, that power is never greater nor less than itself. It follows that a power which can make a law, can by the very fact modify or unmake it, and that the same power which imposes a law upon a given individual, can also exempt him from it. This exemption of an individual, or group of individuals, from the obligation of a law for a given or specified case is called a *dispensation*. (Were the exemption a standing one, and to extend from the concrete case to all future recurring cases of the same class, it would be called a *Privilege*.)

The second truth which forms the rational basis of the dispensing power is one which is amply verified by any competent and comprehensive knowledge of human nature. It lies in a well-known distinction between the character of Divine and human legislation. God, as the divine legislator, possesses so deep, intimate and all-complete a knowledge of the heart and the life of man, that He is able to frame the law which He gives to man with such perfect wisdom and foresight, and with such adaptability to man’s nature, that no case will ever arise in which the observance of God’s law will not coincide with man’s true interest and happiness. It is very different with the human legislator. His purview is upon the mass, and largely upon the surface. He can

only look broadly to the general well-being of society. He frames his law to meet the wants and needs of the community as a whole, and secure the happiness of the greatest number. But while the law, thus framed, makes for the welfare of the community and of the majority, inevitably it will fail to cover the special cases of given individuals. These special cases, too various and personal for classification or proviso, will, in the order of human things, exist and arise, and no human legislative wisdom can be expected in all instances to foresee or provide for them. In these, the very law which, in the case of the majority or community, makes for justice and happiness, may make for injustice and hardship. The very law which leads society to temporal or spiritual good, may, in these cases, constitute the very bar which will defraud a number of individuals from obtaining it. Let us take a concrete instance. It is for the well-being of society that cousins should not intermarry, and very properly the Church, with her eyes on the general good, has made a law to prohibit it. But here, let us say, in the Middle Ages, are two Barons, whose families have been engaged in a deadly feud, and in a chronic warfare upon each other's territory. A marriage between their children as cousins is barred by the Church's prohibition. But such a marriage would undoubtedly tend to the happiness not only of the persons themselves, but would seal an alliance securing the future peace and goodwill of their respective houses. The very prohibition, which is for the good of society at large, is here a mischievous obstacle to the good—the *bonum pacis*—of these two families. What, then, is the action of the Church? With one hand, she maintains the prohibition or law for society at large, whose good requires it, and with the other, she wisely uses the dispensing power, and lifts the obligation of her law from the particular case of these families, so that *their* welfare may not be obstructed. Thus she secures the happiness both of the community and of the individual. We may say, in fact, that the theory of dispensation has its reason in a sound appreciation of the principle that the law-giver is bound to provide for the interests of justice and happiness not only for the community, but (as, indeed, the very administration of justice and equity proves) for each particular case that may arise within its membership.

This seems to us both a broader, a higher and a nobler and humaner conception of lawgiving, than that of a cast-iron framing of general laws which look blindly and narrowly to the good of majorities, but by their indiscriminating enforcement crush out the happiness of a multitude of individuals.

From the above given principles the nature and scope of the dispensing power will be plain. On the one hand, it will be seen that it can have no *locus standi* in the region of Divine Law. On the other hand, it will be seen that, in the view of the Church, the dispensing power, or use of the *οἰκονομία*, is the natural and necessary accompaniment of all human or ecclesiastical legislation—the remedial and corrective element inseparable from it, if the interests of justice and equity are not to suffer in the cases of individuals. In the civil order the origin of the Court of Chancery, and the prerogative of the royal clemency, bear witness to the recognition of the same abiding need in the nature of human legislation.

However elementary these principles may seem, a strange amount of misconception seems to obtain as to the scope of the dispensing power as used by the Catholic Church. So eminent a person as the Archbishop of Canterbury, in so public a place as the House of Lords, during the debate on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, ventured on the extraordinary statement that in the Catholic Church the very theory of dispensations was based on the belief that "the Pope can dispense in things forbidden by the Divine Law."* This assertion, so far from being an accurate statement of Catholic theology and Canon Law, is plainly opposed to the accepted teaching of both. The Archbishop might not unreasonably have been expected to remember that the chief cause which led to the separation of this country from the communion of the Holy See was the

* The Archbishop's words were:—"The question has been asked whether marriage with a deceased wife's sister would have been allowed by dispensation by the Church of Rome if the Papal See had understood it to be contrary to the Divine Law. The question shows a strange misapprehension of the claims of the Papal See. The theory is, that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, and that, *therefore, he can dispense in regard to things which may be forbidden in the Divine Law.* That is the whole theory of dispensations, and it is in accordance with this theory that very recently dispensations have been granted for the marriage of uncles and nieces, and if the question is at all to the point we must say that the marriage of uncles and aunts is not contrary to the Divine Law." [N.B. Dispensations for marriages between uncles and nieces are not granted on any such theory, but because such marriages are held to be prohibited not by Divine, but by ecclesiastical law.]

refusal of a Pope to accede to the wishes of the English sovereign upon a matter of divorce, and that the ground of this refusal was the fact that the concession asked for was barred by the Divine Law, of which the Pope had no power to relax the obligation. It might, therefore, be fairly said that the actual position of the Archbishop and of the Anglican communion bear witness that the Papal claim in regard of matters forbidden by Divine Law is exactly the opposite of what the Archbishop has stated it to be.

That the Pope has no real dispensing power in matters of Divine Law is set forth with abundant clearness in the standard theological and juridical literature of the Catholic Church. It is an elementary principle of both theology and Canon Law that legislative power and dispensing power are in the same hand and are necessarily co-ordinate; that only he who makes the law can have power to unmake or dispense from it, and that an inferior has no power to loose the law that is made by a superior. The obvious corollary of the principle is that, while the Church and her chief can dispense from Church-made or Papal law, neither the Church nor the Pope possesses any power to dispense from any law which is God-made or Divine. The principle is embodied in the *Corpus Juris* of the Canon Law (Clement, *Ne principes Rom.*), and is constantly appealed to by the canonists to prove that the whole plane of Divine Law is uplifted above all human authority, and cannot be reached by any act that can properly be called a Papal dispensation. The dispensing power of the Pope moves within the sphere of ecclesiastical—viz., human—or Church-made law. Things which are of Divine Law must remain for ever untouched and untouchable by it. While theologians and canonists thus affirm that the Pope has no power to change or dispense from Divine Law, they unanimously assert that he has power to interpret, and to declare it, and especially in cases of self-induced obligations, such as oaths or vows, to determine whether or not, having regard to equity and morality, the matter sworn or vowed is such as to lawfully fall under the Divine sanction, or at most to use that power which the old law gave to parents over the vows of their children. Thus, when a French king took an oath never to relinquish his claim to certain provinces, and when his observance of this oath was

found to be a bar to the peace and well-being of two Christian nations, and a perpetual cause of feud and bloodshed between them, the Apostolic See wisely judged that, in such circumstances, an oath of the kind could possess no binding power in the eyes of the God of peace and love, and declared the French king to be loosed from its obligation. In the same spirit Pope Leo III. wisely released our English king, Edward the Confessor, from his vow of pilgrimage to Rome, declaring that, in view of paramount interests, the safety and welfare of his nation, the God of wisdom could not bind him to the folly of endangering them. Such absolutions or dispensations are regarded not as relaxing the Divine Law which requires us to keep our lawful oaths and vows—which no Pope has ever called in question—but as judicial interpretations of the conditions under which, in this or that given instance, such obligations can be, consistently with the Divine Law itself, either validly contracted or licitly fulfilled. It is of this class of obligations, and not of absolute Divine commands or prohibitions, that certain mediæval Canonists speak when they say that the Pope cannot dispense in matters of Divine Law “without just cause.” Thus, Panormitanus says: “Observe that the Pope cannot attempt anything against what is of Divine institution.”* Felinus, the celebrated fifteenth century Canonist, expresses the same principle most clearly in his chapter *Quæ in Ecclesiæ* (De Constitutionibus), p. 134. But as it was not of self-induced obligations, but of absolute Divine prohibitions, that the Archbishop was speaking, the irrelevance of this aspect of Papal dispensing power becomes obvious.

As to the teaching of Catholic theology on this point no more representative witness can be cited than St. Thomas Aquinas, whose works have been so eloquently approved by Leo XIII.

He says :

The Pope possesses the plenitude of power in the Church in this way, that whatever is instituted by the Church or the prelates of the Church can be dispensed from by the Pope. For these are things which are said to be of human or positive law. But in those things which are of natural

* “Nota quod non potest Papa aliquid attentare contra Divinam dispositionem.” Super Primam. Partem I. Decretal. De Summa Trinitate et Fide Cath., tom. i. p. 28.

or of Divine Law, the Pope cannot dispense, because these things have their binding force by Divine institution.—(Quaestiones Quodlibetae iv., Art. xiii.)

In another passage, speaking of Apostolic ordinances, he separates carefully what is of Divine institution from what is merely human, and affirms that when the Apostle “promulgates anything as of Divine Law, the Pope cannot dispense therefrom.”—(Quaestio lxi.)

In his *Summa*, he lays down the principle which is axiomatic in Catholic theology. “The Natural and Divine Law proceeds from the Divine will . . . and thence can only be changed by God’s authority.” (1a. 2ae. 9, 97, a. 111.) He adds: “Divine command cannot be dispensed from.” (22ae. q. 89, Art. 9.)*

It is needless to say that the vast body of Catholic theologians are on this point at one with St. Thomas, and that what he taught in the thirteenth century, Suarez taught in the sixteenth, and St. Alphonsus in the eighteenth,† and Ballerini and Palmieri in the Gregorian University at Rome in our own day.

The testimony of the Canon Law is equally explicit.

Long before the Council of Trent great Canonists like Felinus Sandaeus and Nicholas de Tudeschi (better known as Panormitanus) had laid down the principle that the “Pope has

* St. Thomas says:—

“In the precepts of the Divine Law which proceed from God, no one can give a dispensation but God alone, or one whom God has specially commissioned.”—12^{ae} q. 97, a. iv. ad 3^m.

“The Natural and Divine Law proceeds from the Divine will . . . thence it can be changed only by Divine authority.”—12^{ae} q. 97, a. iii. ad 1^m.

“Divine precept is indispensable—i.e., cannot be dispensed from.”—22^{ae} q. 89, a. 9, 1.

St. Thomas explains that dispensations from oaths and vows are never dispensations to break an oath or a vow, but by a dispensation that which was the object of the oath or the vow may cease to be legitimate matter for either. He admits that the Pope may commute the matter when legitimate to a higher good, in matters which pertain to the administration of Church affairs.

“When a prelate of the Church dispenses from a vow, he does not dispense from a precept of Divine or Natural Law, but he determines that which fell under the obligation of the human proposal, which could not take all things into account.”—2^a 2^{ae} q. 88, a. 10, ad 2^m.

He teaches that the obligation of a vow depends on its acceptance by God, and that the prelate, taking the place of God, can determine this acceptability. Thus the Pope as Vicar of Christ has the same control over the vowing will of his subjects as the old law gave to the father of a family. “He has the fulness of power in dispensing in all dispensable vows. He cannot prohibit vows which have for their object virtuous works.”—*Ibid*.

† Lib. vi. Tract. vi. Dub. iv. 1119, *et seq.*

no power to attempt anything contrary to Divine Law."—(Panormit. 1. p. 1 Decret. de Summa Trin.)

Augustine Barbosa, Bishop of Ugento and consultor of the Index in the sixteenth century, cites Pope Urban and a well-known passage of the Corpus Juris. (Pars ii. Decreti. c. xxv. 9, 1.), and teaches that "*in Divine laws a dispensation of the Pope is not admitted.*"

In his Collectanea Doctorum in Jus Pontificium Universum (Lyons, 1588) (Tom. v. p. 340 ; pars. ii. Dec. Causa, xxv. 9, 1) :

In Divine laws a dispensation of the Pope is not admitted, as is proved by Pope Urban in the above passage. (Pars ii. Decreti. Causa xxv. 9, 1.) The reason is that before an inferior can dispense in the law of a superior there must be a just cause, otherwise such action would be invalid. But in the Divine Law, no just cause can be available as the grounds of a dispensation, for the Most High God sees all cases and causes which could fall under that Divine Law, and the Divine will from which this kind of law emanates is altogether unchangeable. Whence it clearly follows that if in any given case It wills that its command should remain, it is most just that it should remain, and it cannot be just that it should be removed by an inferior, and consequently, a *dispensation which takes away the obligation of a divine law cannot be properly given by the Sovereign Pontiff.*

The same Barbosa, commenting on the saying of certain jurists that the Pope could dispense in Divine Law with just cause, states—(1) that their contention is based upon no solid arguments ; (2) that it is opposed to the plain principle of Canon Law, that the inferior cannot dissolve in any case the law of the superior, and concludes "Wherefore in it (the Divine Law), no Papal dispensation is admissible."

He adds :

But the Sovereign Pontiff can declare that on account of causes arising, in certain cases, the divine laws do not oblige, as when for instance a greater precept would be violated or good prevented ; for though the power of dispensing in matters of Divine Law cannot be conceded to the Sovereign Pontiff, the power of interpreting them cannot be denied to him . . . and therefore theologians grant to him the power of interpretation but not of dispensation.

In such cases he declares the general precept of Divine Law not to apply, "and in this sense we are to understand the doctors, who assert that the Sovereign Pontiff and princes to have authority to dispense in Divine Law, to refer not to

real dispensation, which is a relaxation of an obligatory law, but to a dispensation improperly so called, such as is a declaration."

"Hence, such a declaration or dispensation, improperly so called, if made without just cause, is invalid."—(Collectanea Doctorum in Par. ii. Decret. Causa xxv. Quaestio i.).

Lucius Ferraris, whose "*Bibliotheca Canonica*," is one of the best known standard works of reference on Canon Law, says :

The Pope, properly and strictly speaking, cannot dispense in Divine Law. This is the almost common opinion

Whence, the Pope cannot dispense against Divine Law or in Divine Law. First, because even as a vicar cannot do all that his principal can do, so the Pope, who is Vicar of Christ on earth, cannot do all that Christ can do—*e.g.*, to institute new sacraments, or abrogate the old, to permit simultaneous bigamy, or dissolve the vinculum of consummated matrimony, and such like. But the Pope can interpret the Divine Law, and declare in a given case that it does not oblige, as when from the observance of the Divine Law, something iniquitous would result, or a greater good would be prevented (Art. Dispensatio).

Reiffenstuel, the leading canonist of the last century, whose works were reprinted in 1831 under the imprimatur of the Papal Vicegerent and the sanction of the master of the Apostolic Palace, says :

The Pope cannot dispense in the impediments which invalidate matrimony by Natural or Divine Law. Nowhere, either in Holy Scripture or in the sacred Canons, or in the tradition or practice of the Church, or from any other source, is it to be found that God has granted to the Pope any power of dispensing in the impediments which nullify marriage by Natural or Divine Law (vol. v. p. 544).

He notes that although the Pope is Vicar of Christ he cannot be regarded as able to do all in such matters that Christ could do, and adds :

So far is this from being so that the Pope is not only bound to observe the Divine Law himself, but in the discharge of his pastoral office it is his duty to enjoin it even to the shedding of his blood and the laying down of his life (vol. i. p. 196).

Schmalzgrueber, the Jesuit Canonist whose monumental work on the Canon Law received the highest approval, says that the "doctrine which in agreement with St. Thomas denies that the Pope has any power to dispense in any matter of Divine Law,

is the general and most assured teaching of all authorities" (par. i. tit. ii., p. 225).

Finally, it is to be observed that Sanchez is perhaps the only theologian of any mark whose doctrine would even seem to approach the opposite contention. Sanchez taught that in some extreme and extraordinary case, in which no other remedy could be found, the Pope might be regarded as possessing from Christ by delegation the power to dispense in a matter of Divine Law. But even this exceptional theory would least of all help the contention of the Archbishop, for in the very matter of which the Archbishop was speaking—the Levitical impediments to marriage—Sanchez expressly repudiates the idea that the Pope can dispense in any of those which are of Divine or of Natural Law. "*It is most true,*" he says, "*that in no impediment which by Divine natural law invalidates marriage can the Pope dispense.*" "The reason is that there are divine laws in the Church, in which God has left no power of dispensation" (De Matrimonio. lib. viii. disp. vi.). In fact, he teaches that the very reason why the Pope dispenses in many of these impediments is that they are under the gospel not of divine, but of ecclesiastical law.*

* Sanchez (Lib. viii. de Dispensationibus, Disp. vi.) quotes the opinion "that the Pope can dispense in all Divine Law, except in Articles of Faith," and says that it "is absolutely opposed to truth, and to be rejected."

He states the second opinion :

"Since the Divine will, from which natural law proceeds, is immutable, dispensation can by no means have place therein" (in eam minimé cadet dispensatio).

As a third opinion :

He thinks it more probable that there are extraordinary and special cases of necessity in which the Pope may dispense from Divine and natural, and in which he may be regarded as holding from Almighty God the power so to do. He thinks also that dispensations from residence to bishops, and of communion in one kind, are examples of this licit dispensation of Divine Law. But speaking of matrimony he says :

"It is most true that in no impediment which by Divine natural law invalidates marriage can the Pope dispense."

"The reason is that there are divine laws in the Church in which God has left no power of dispensation."

He maintains that none of these grades of consanguinity and affinity is prohibited by Divine Law in the Christian dispensation, unless otherwise prohibited by the law of nature, and "therefore the Pope can dispense in all of them, except those in which, having regard to the law of nature, marriages cease." The only exceptions are parents and children in any degree, and brothers and sisters. Impediments of affinity are not of the law of nature.

The various cases on which Sanchez relies for his thesis as to the dispensing power, are examined and explained one by one by Ballarini in his recent work upon Busembaum (edit. Palmieri. vol. i. de Legibus, c. iv. 290, *et seq.*).

That which the Archbishop described as a "grave misapprehension," is indeed the standard teaching of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, to believe that it is a part of "the Papal claims," that "the Pope can dispense in matters forbidden by Divine Law," as the Archbishop maintained, would be not only a "grave misapprehension," but an utter travesty of Catholic law and theology.

Z.

P.S.—As a sample of the reckless and slanderous inaccuracy with which certain non-Catholic writers choose to treat questions of this kind, we may cite the following passage from an article in Smith and Cheetam's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities": "In the East, therefore, the once doubtful question of the remarriage of the innocent party after divorce, has been resolved in the affirmative; in the Latin Church, it has been determined in the negative, *except when a Papal dispensation has intervened which according to modern Roman theology makes all things possible and allowable*" (Art. "Marriage," vol. ii. p. 1113). So far is this from being the case that Catholic theologians, both modern and ancient, are unanimous in affirming that no Papal dispensation can ever dissolve the bond of valid marriage between those who have once lived together as husband and wife, and that whether divorced or undivorced, innocent or guilty, neither can marry again during the lifetime of the other.

ART. X.—SCIENCE IN FETTERS.

PART I.

PESSIMISM is, for us, not only a repugnant, but also an exceedingly unreasonable system of philosophy. The student of nature who has not convinced himself that pleasure and gladness do not far exceed pain and misery in the world of irrational life, has surely carried on his observations with a distorted mental vision. As to us men, while the use of our bodily and mental faculties remains unimpaired, existence must be a gain. We are, most of us, far too thankless for the many small and unobtrusive pleasures with which, on all sides, life abounds. Nevertheless, it is most true that, for very many, sorrow and suffering are a daily experience, while all of us have occasionally no trifling pang to undergo. Still for human, self-conscious beings there are, so long as they are rational, the abundant consolations which religion affords; so that no man in his senses—save in some stress of sudden passion—can seriously ask “Is life worth living?”

But if no reasonable being has a just cause to reproach the Almighty for having bestowed on him the gift of life, still, most certainly, we have not been born into “the best of all possible worlds.” Even though, unlike Alfonso the Wise, we know ourselves to be incapable of suggesting to the Creator improvements in the plan of the universe which He has seen fit to adopt, there can be no doubt that we may conceive of, as to various details, a better state of things for us here below—as regards our physical, moral and intellectual conditions—than has been actually granted to us.

We have no desire, however, to call attention here to any of our physical defects, but only to some intellectual consequences which necessarily result from our bodily and mental constitution.

It was a truth distinctly taught by the Scholastics—as readers of the DUBLIN know—that one consequence of our organisation (of our bifold material and intellectual nature) is the necessity of the presence of mental images derived from

our organs of sense (*phantasmata*) as a condition, *sine quâ non*, for every one of our intellectual perceptions, even the very highest.

Such perceptions require, in the first place, to have a basis prepared for them by the agency of that nervous substance which forms the dominant part of our material frame. They have, secondly, to be also sustained and supported by the play of the imagination which presents us with mental images (*phantasms*) that are but groups of reminiscences of past excitations of our organs of sense : in other words, they are plexuses of consciously or unconsciously remembered feelings.

For our nature is specially fitted to take note of those properties of objects, which are made known to us by our senses, and feels a peculiar ease and satisfaction in them, and in the imagination thereof. Higher, or reflex, abstract ideas are, on the contrary, apprehended with more or less difficulty.

Investigations concerning the collocations and conditions of these antecedent foundations of thought, constitute a most fascinating study which has been gradually developed through the concurrence of two factors : one of these (1) consists of the physiology of the nervous system, and especially of our various sense-organs ; the other (2) is the study of the laws which govern the association of sensations, and that most modern branch of inquiry, experimental-psychology.

Together they constitute a science of the material instruments and means of thought—a science which seems to have a great future before it, and would deserve every encouragement did not its own abundant interest constitute encouragement enough.

But the study of thought itself—of the results which the just-mentioned instruments and means bring about—not only shows the necessity of phantasms of the imagination for intellectual activity, but also assigns to our powers of imagination, very distinct limits. The analysis of the mind—of our powers of imagination as reflected on by the intellect—demonstrates that we can imagine nothing except what our senses have previously experienced either as a whole, or in its constituent parts.

This is the meaning of the adage :

Nihil in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.

Our sense-impressions can alone furnish the basis on which

the intellect may build, and it can build nothing save, as above said, what, at least in its constituent parts, has a material basis in such sense-impressions.

Is it then the case that there is absolutely nothing in the intellect save what previously existed in our sensations?

To say this would be absurd indeed, and would amount to a denial of the distinctness of "ideas" (such as infinity, necessity, absolute being, possible being, existence, non-existence, truth, identity, reality, &c.) from "feelings."

The existence of an essential distinctness between "sensations" and "ideas," must here be taken for granted since we hope that we have demonstrated it with sufficient clearness elsewhere.*

Our feelings, though necessary antecedents and accompaniments of our ideas, are so far from containing the essential part of the latter, that we may also truly say:

Nihil in intellectu quod unquam fuerit in sensu.

Hence the extreme difference which exists between that which can be imagined, and that which can be conceived of but cannot be imagined.

Confusion between our faculties of imagination and conception is most common and most misleading, and a clear perception of their distinctness is a primary and indispensable requisite for any sound psychology.

We have no space, however, to devote to that subject here, and must again refer our readers to what we have elsewhere written.†

But few things are more common, even amongst thoughtful writers, than a confusion of the kind just referred to, a confusion between the sensuous basis and the intellectual results of thought, a confusion between the *means* and the *object* of perception.‡

Examples of this have again and again been furnished us by no less distinguished a writer than Mr. Herbert Spencer, and such mistakes in the very groundwork of his philosophy have been long ago pointed out by us in the pages of this review.§

* See "The Truth," Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., pp. 178-223.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 90-96.

§ See the DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1874, July 1875, Jan. and April 1877, Jan. and Oct. 1878, Jan. and April 1879, and a subsequent article. In the article

If such confusion of thought and so defective an analysis of our mental processes are to be met with in the writings of a psychologist and philosopher so highly-gifted, so generally well-informed, and so persevering and industrious, we have small cause to be surprised on finding similar errors amongst biologists or students of any one branch of science, whatever it may be.

A late very eminent and popular physicist has afforded us a striking example of an analogous error. Though it is most true, as already said, that no ideas can be entertained by us save by the aid of mental imagery, it would be most untrue and misleading to suppose that the very ideas themselves can be, and still more that they must be, truly represented by any mental pictures of them—that objective concepts beyond the apprehension of any sense-organ can be like a mere plexus of remembered sensations. What is immaterial, and therefore utterly imperceptible to our senses, obviously can never be truly represented by the repetition in the imagination of any group of sensations. Yet the late Professor Tyndall laid down that an ability to “mentally visualise” a conception is a necessary condition of our being certain of its truth. But to “mentally visualise” what is absolutely “invisible” would be a complete contradiction, and therefore any ability so to do must amount to a positive proof that the thing represented was not of the nature supposed. An endeavour so to represent it would be an attempt to make mental images of things imperceptible to the senses serve not as symbols, but as adequate representations, of things imperceptible to the senses and therefore essentially incapable of any such representation.

of Jan. 1879, p. 148, there will be found an account of the way in which Mr. Spencer confounds the means of the perception of extension with the idea of space. At p. 151 it is shown how the imaginative conditions of our idea of time are “the merest pegs” on which “hang our intellectual perceptions of the relations of the successions of objects and events.” At p. 157 is given the distinction between our intuitions of motion and the related sensations through which it is elicited.

“The radical fault of Mr. Spencer’s psychology is the endeavour to resolve our higher faculties with our lower; an endeavour as fundamentally irrational as it would be to represent adequately a Babylonian palace by the mention of nothing but its component bricks, an endeavour mischievous in the highest degree, since its success would be necessarily fatal at once to intellect, morality, and will. The first it misrepresents, the second it renders impossible, the third it speculatively denies the existence of, and tends, with fatal efficacy, to weaken and ultimately paralyse.”—DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1879, p. 369.

Thus arises a form of error which paralyses the mental efforts of many men who aspire to higher knowledge, and truly puts fetters on Science. Not, of course, that it fetters mere empirical science which can get on in its own line amidst very imperfect and even contradictory philosophical notions the implications of which are not realised. But it holds in bondage all attempts to master science *par excellence* and to comprehend in a truly rational manner the facts which nature presents for our examination.

The inability to distinguish imagination from intellectual conception always results in a disinclination, and often in a positive refusal to accept as true anything which tends to disturb mental images which have long been habitually entertained. Its evil effects extend over the whole field of thought not only degrading the higher conceptions of the biologist and physicist, but even acting very prejudicially on some philosophers and divines.

It may be well, however, to commence our brief survey of such prejudices by considering some difficulties thence arising in the higher fields of biological science.

For this purpose it is needful to begin with what is most evidently known to us of all those facts which concern the science of living things.

Obviously no living things can be so well known to us as our own selves. Now the most certain facts known to us as regards ourselves are : that we think ; can know with certainty we are thinking ; can know some of our past as well as our present thought, and that we can consider and reconsider our thoughts in various groups and in different orders, passing them in review, as it were, before a present consciousness.

Another certain fact known to us is that we are a living material, extended substance which we know as "our body," and that many material bodies exist around us which, like it, are the seat of various merely mechanical and unintelligent forces.

Bearing in mind these two facts, it becomes obvious that, as we have before observed,* the force which energises in our consciousness is

* We here purposely leave out of account all kinds of idealism which are, for us, but so many forms of lunacy. To regard all bodies as but plexuses of feelings, and the written and spoken discourses of other men but as diverse

“a continuously persisting principle, conscious of successive objects and events, and capable of holding them before it in one conception as members of a series every part of which it transcends; such a principle, aware of the kinds and directions of its own intellectual activities, consciously present to them and capable of reviewing its own states and external objects and events in various orders, cannot itself be multitudinous, but must be as much a unity as possible—that is a simple unity.”*

Moreover, this principle, as it is capable of knowing absolute and necessary truth (*e.g.* that nothing can, at the same time, both be and not be and that some actions are more morally worthy than others), must be something altogether different from what we apprehend as material, extended substance, or as merely physical force. If then we have (as is certainly the case) any knowledge at all of material bodies and physical forces, it is *absolutely certain* that this intellectual persistent principle is neither the one nor the other, but stands in the strongest contrast to both, and that which is in the strongest contrast to the material and physical, is the immaterial and psychical.

We do not mean that we are conscious of anything within our body and distinct from it, but that we are conscious, on reflexion, of being *both* a material extended substance and an immaterial persistent energy. We are conscious that we are one being with a bifold unity—one body and one immaterial principle forming an absolute unity possessing two sets of faculties. Our being is thus seen to have its static and dynamic aspects; it is material and physical in one aspect, immaterial and intelligent in the other aspect, and it is the latter aspect of our being we speak of as the *Soul*, the *Anima*, the *Psyche*.

Here then is one great fact which is absolutely certain and evident. No certainty we can attain to about any other object can be nearly so certain as is this truth. It is the primary and highest truth of biological science.

The late Professor Tyndall argued[†] against the Conception

other plexuses of feelings, whether our own, the feelings of another being, or feelings not regarded as pertaining to any entity but simply as feelings absolutely, is but one instance of mistaking the means for the object of knowledge.

* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1889, p. 275.

† See the *Fortnightly Review*, November 1877. “Try to mentally visualise this,” he tells us, “and the difficulty immediately appears.”

of a human soul, on the ground of his before-referred-to principle of mental visualisation—as if the invisible were necessarily the incredible!

Of course we cannot think of the “soul,” except by the aid of some sensuous symbol such as the breath, air, or vapour in human shape, &c. ; just as we cannot think of “God” without the mental image of an old man, or light from a cloud, or an eye in a triangle, or the letters or sounds which express the word. But, also of course, we do not think that the objective reality in either case is really like the symbol made use of to enable us to think of that reality, and the knowledge that the symbol cannot be like that reality, in no way impairs the effect of the idea of God, on our emotions, thoughts, or acts of will.

Now it is this very mistake of the school to which Professor Tyndall belonged—the mistake of fettering the intellect through the imagination—which bars the way to the acceptance of the most rational conception attainable concerning the nature of non-rational living creatures. And here we may see one instance of the great value of our knowledge of our own bifold being. The knowledge of that absolutely certain and evident fact is far-reaching in its consequences.

For since animals resemble man in various degrees, it is reasonable to suppose that they also have a twofold nature. It is reasonable to suppose that they each consist of an extended material body, which is absolutely one with an immanent, immaterial energy, however different from that of man in power and faculty. Nor is it possible to draw a hard and fast line between the higher and the lower animals, or between the latter and the world of plants. Nor, again, do the obvious and enormous differences which exist between our intellectual powers and the highest energies of the vegetable world, constitute any insuperable barrier to the existence of an immanent, immaterial, dynamic principle as the essence of every living organism, from the lowest plant to the highest animal—that is, man.

The differences referred to may be seen not to constitute any such barrier, because, by the combined aid of psychology and physiology, a very remarkable truth is borne in on us.

Of very much which this dynamic agency, this immanent energy of ours can accomplish, we are directly conscious. We are conscious of our voluntary actions, our thoughts, emotions,

and sensations. But its action gradually shades off into activities of which we are entirely unconscious.

It is, therefore, easily conceivable that: (1) Many organisms exist—such as the higher animals—which differ from ourselves merely by the fact that the dynamic force of theirs does not give rise to reflex self-consciousness; (2) that other organisms—such as some of the lower animals—possessing full powers of feeling, may be destitute of imagination and devoid of emotion, and lastly (3) that there are many others—plants—in which the immanent energy does not result even in sensation, as is the case with ourselves in the action of our soul, or *anima*, in the intimate processes of assimilation and growth, to say nothing of an enormous number of other merely corporeal functions.

That each living organism, in addition to those properties whereof our senses inform us, also consists of an immanent dynamic principle of individuation* or *anima*, is a fact whereof, in our own case, our reflective reason can assure us, though it necessarily escapes the cognisance of our senses. Only thus can we understand how an animal synthesises, in one psychical act, a multitude of impressions made simultaneously and successively upon its various organs of sense.

This view, at once popular and scientific, is rapidly gaining ground amongst modern thinkers, and, if not distinctly accepted by, is, at least unconsciously, receiving the sanction of a fast-augmenting number of modern physiologists, as we shall shortly see.

As to philosophers, Herman Lotze, a man quite free from theological prepossessions, has been forced, by the patient exercise of his unprejudiced reason, to affirm the existence of such an immanent, immaterial principle in each living being, though,

* By this term "a principle of individuation," it is intended to denote an active immaterial principle which unifies all an organism's activities, presides over its vital processes in general, governing those of its development from the germ (its *ontogeny*) and (as we believe) those of its gradual evolution as "a new species" (its *phyllogeny*). In that sense, therefore, it pertains to what was termed "the form" by the Scholastics. They used the term "principle of individuation," however, in a different sense to that in which it is here employed. They used it to denote the "matter," the extension of which occasioned the multiplication of the different individual existences of the "form"—as a sheet of wax may be the occasion for the multiplication of individual impressions of a seal which is repeatedly impressed on its extended surface.

as he says, we can as little imagine such a thing as we can imagine "how things look in the dark."

But when we recollect how impossible it is for us, in *any* line of thought, to dispense with material images as aids to our powers of conception, it is easy to understand how exceptionally difficult it must be for physicists to shake themselves free of the mental fetters which the unconscious use of such images tends to impose.

And it is especially what is visible and tangible which comes home most readily to the imagination, and vague internal feelings are always described in terms of sight or touch. Thus we often speak of a "*gnawing*" pain, a "*sharp*" pain, "*like a knife*"; a "*rough*" taste, and even a "*bright*" intellect, or a "*hard*" heart.

It is by no means wonderful, then, that biologists, who are necessarily deeply immersed in matters of sense, should view with disfavour an explanation they cannot picture to their mental eye. Indeed, the soul of each man cannot be directly apprehended by him in its substance; for it is only directly cognisable by us in and through our activity—what we do or suffer.

Men not well versed in the distinction between feelings and thoughts, and who think of the soul by the aid of some mental image (of a vapour in human form, or what not), without apprehending its utter distinctness from the idea it supports, not unnaturally imagine that upholders of the truth of the soul's existence also believe that it is like the symbols they use with respect to it, and therefore regard such men with quite undeserved contempt.* They mistakenly credit *Intellectualists* with their own folly as *Sensists*!

Physiologists are also naturally indisposed to accept as a truth the doctrine which proclaims the existence of such an immanent, immaterial energy, because such a conception has been of little use in the progress of physiology. The wonderful discoveries which modern research has made, have been made, not by investigations concerning such an agency, but by the application to the study of living nature of the previously-ascertained

* A quite remarkable example of this curious mistake has just been afforded us by Professor Haeckel, who, in his small book entitled "*Monism*" (p. 49), speaks of the soul as being thought of as "aerial or gaseous."

laws of physics and chemistry. This century's discoveries concerning digestion, respiration, the movements of nutritive fluids, secretion, &c., have all been made by the application of physics, including chemistry, to the investigation of the phenomena of life. Physical investigators have been compelled to make use of mechanical images, and no blame can attach to them for following the path they have followed, and we should gratefully accept truth which has thus been gained. Nevertheless, this practical need has led to much theoretic exaggeration. Thus Kirchenhoff proclaimed that "the highest object at which the natural sciences are constrained to aim, is the reduction of all the phenomena of nature to mechanics"; and Helmholtz, that their object was "to resolve themselves into mechanics." Wundt has declared "the problem of physiology" to be "a reduction of vital phenomena to general physical laws, and ultimately to the fundamental laws of mechanics." Huxley teaches a similar doctrine, while Haeckel has said that "all natural phenomena, without exception, from the motions of the celestial bodies to the growth of plants and the consciousness of man, . . . are ultimately to be reduced to atomic mechanics."

But science should be complete, *teres atque rotunda*, and all subordinate departments of science should be controlled and made to harmonise with what is absolutely the most evident and certain—what is *supremely* scientific. As we have seen, what is thus most evident and certain, is our own bifold nature and the dominance therein of one immanent dynamic principle; while the most reasonable inference with regard to other living things is that they have a similar essentially bifold being, the dynamic principle (or form) whereof is likewise dominant and directive. This ultimate truth biologists are bound to recognise, even while doing their best to explain mechanically or chemically whatever can possibly be so explained.

And the resistless logic of facts is fast driving them, and will ultimately compel them, struggle as they may, to recognise the truth, and adore what they have scorned if not scoffed at.

Professor Bardon Sanderson,* for example, has expressed himself as follows :

* "Thirty years ago the discovery of the cell seemed to be a very near

* At the meeting of the British Association at Newcastle, 1889.

approach to the mechanism of life, but now we are striving to get even closer, and with the same results. Our methods bring us to closer quarters with phenomena which, although within reach of exact investigation, are, as regards their essence, involved in a mystery which is the more profound the more it is brought into contrast with the exact knowledge we possess of surrounding conditions."

Lord Kelvin, now President of the Royal Society, has recently declared* that

"the influence of animal or vegetable life on matter is infinitely beyond the range of any scientific inquiry hitherto entered on . . . in the growth of generation after generation of plants from a single seed, is infinitely different from any possible result of the fortuitous concourse of atoms."

The able botanist, Hausteiu, tells us† that there is inherent in living organisms some special formative power (*Eigengestaltungskraft*), quite different from inorganic forces, and declares that so long as it is true science to affirm that different effects must have different causes, it cannot be legitimately maintained that the formative processes of organisms which are seen constantly to strive toward some predetermined end are nothing but the combined effects of forces inherent in atoms and active as rays or vibrations. The pathologist Rindfleisch and the botanist Kerner von Marilaun, have put forth similar views, and Bunge has done so even more distinctly.‡

In spite of the progress of physiology in the nineteenth century, it has not advanced one step towards explaining mechanically the vital action of living organisms. How the elements of our nerves and muscles really act remains absolutely unknown, and the intimate activity of our organs of sense is not a whit less mysterious to us than it was to the contemporaries of Aristotle!

Thus it is that men who are purely and simply biologists are being rapidly compelled by their own science of physiology to recognise a fundamental, natural truth quite beyond the range of the imagination, namely, the real existence and directive agency of a principle which can be recognised

* In an article on the "Dissipation of Energy," *Fortnightly Review*, 1892.

† *Das Protoplasma als Träger der pflanzlichen und thierischen Lebensverrichtungen*. Heidelberg, 1880.

‡ *Lehrbuch der physiologischen und pathologischen Chemie*. Second edition, 1889.

distinctly by the intellect, but is for ever hidden from perception by the senses.

We have above spoken of "intellectualists" and "sensists," and it may be well to declare distinctly what we mean by those terms.

Men who, like Professor Karl Pearson, declare that we can know nothing but feelings—"sense-impressions, and sense-impresses"—received, associated, remembered, &c., make their ultimate appeal to the senses, and so may justly be spoken of as "sensists," and their system as *sensism*.

Those who agree with us in loudly affirming that every human conception contains what is altogether beyond sense* make their ultimate appeal, not to the senses, but to the intellect, and they may therefore be distinguished as "intellectualists," and their system as *intellectualism*.

Amongst the supersensuous truths the intellect recognises are four supereminent ones, namely: (1) our own substantial, continuous existence; (2) the trustworthiness of the faculty of memory; (3) our power to apprehend with certainty some necessary conditions and relations between things in themselves, independently of our knowledge of, or feelings concerning, such things; and (4) that whatever logically follows from premisses which are evidently true, must be likewise evidently true.

Unless we know these things science is logically impossible, and any scientific man who denies them, either deceives himself or seeks to deceive others.

No more glaring example of such deception, and of the self-stultification induced by "sensism," could well be selected than that presented by the writings of Professor Karl Pearson. His little book, "The Grammar of Science," is an elaborate attempt to describe some of the elementary facts and laws of physics in terms of phenomena, *i.e.*, in terms signifying groups of "feelings," without asserting, or, according to his intention, implying the existence of anything beyond feeling. It is therefore a systematic and sustained effort to produce a consistent and harmonious work of unreason, and, as a necessary consequence, is a failure as conspicuous as it is elaborate. His

* See our work "The Origin of Human Reason," Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., p. 280.

repeated self-contradictions are curious. He professes much contempt for metaphysics and metaphysicians, and yet this book of his is really a metaphysical treatise, and if it be—as we have no doubt is the case—honest and sincere, he shows himself with amusing unconsciousness* to be, after all, a metaphysician, *malgré lui!*

He is an idealist, and dogmatically affirms (p. 130) that “the mind is absolutely confined within its nerve-exchange; beyond the walls of sense-impression it can logically infer nothing.”

If, however, the Professor thinks he can know nothing but his own feelings, how can he venture to tell us about their mode of formation or the processes by which one group of feelings acts on another? Yet as to a sensory nerve, he tells us (p. 51) that “the manner in which this nerve conveys its message is, without doubt, physical.” Stars are for him but “groups of feelings,” and yet he writes: “Among the myriad planetary systems, we see on a clear night, there must be myriad planets which have reached our own stage of development, and teem, or have teemed, with human life” (p. 179). He also speaks of long stages of development as having probably preceded the existence of protoplasm, and “of the millions of years, with complex and varying conditions of temperature,” needed in order “to pass from the chemical substance of life to that complex structure which may have been the first stage of organic being.” He also declares (p. 425) his own “unswerving belief that the evolution of organic nature is at the basis of human history.”

The fact is Karl Pearson's idealism is, no doubt unconsciously, an idealism of parade, to be brought out occasionally (above all to confound some intellectualist or advocate of common sense), but ordinarily to be ignored in favour of practical materialism. To the vulgar a doctrine is presented, which, as understood and accepted by them, is truly materialistic, while, to opponents of materialism, it is offered in terms of idealism.

* With great *naïveté* he ridicules Professor Tait for being in the very same case, calling him (p. 296) “the unconscious metaphysician who groups sense-impressions and supposes them to flow as properties from something beyond the sphere of perception,” and we are also told that “the unconscious metaphysics of Professor Tait occur on nearly every page of his treatment of the fundamental concepts of physical science.”

This jugglery may well be termed* intellectual thimble-rigging.

But Karl Pearson's mental attitude, and the strong bent of his will, have quite lately been very forcibly portrayed in his recent article,† entitled "Politics and Science," wherein he attacks Lords Salisbury and Kelvin. He plainly shows, however, that what most enrages him is the revival of religious belief, whatever may be its form. The intensity of his ire may be judged by his suggestion that some of the scientific auditors of Lord Salisbury's Oxford address may‡ "have tingled for cremation."

He shows himself strangely unacquainted with what the Catholic position is, but his mistakes are by no means confined to matters of religion, and would, if consistently followed out, be fatal to science and human welfare, quite apart from any question of revelation, and would be so even if the Christian religion had never existed, or had utterly disappeared.

Nevertheless, it may be well, in passing, to say a few words in this review, with respect to his attitude towards religion, before proceeding to show how his ideas, and the convictions he puts forward, tend to bind and fetter science in adamantine bonds.

He shows, indeed, an ignorance which we cannot help thinking culpable (for a man should inform himself concerning anything he attacks and denounces) about Catholicism, and there is hardly a sentence of his referring to religion which can be accepted without protest.

Pre-Reformation Catholicism he stigmatises as the "old bigotry," while "new bigotry" is the term he applies to the modern revival of religion.

He compares modern men of science of his own school to the humanists of the sixteenth century. The comparison is apt inasmuch as there has been amongst both an unmistakable manifestation of a spirit of irreligion which made them very regardless of the consequences of their words on the mass of their contemporaries. But his historical implications seem to us much mistaken. The official head of what Karl Pearson calls

* See "On Truth," p. 135.

† In the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1894, p. 335.

‡ P. 348.

"the old bigotry" cordially favoured the renascence, though Protestantism did not, and the humanists had small right to complain of Catholic authority, which for so long a time was wonderfully tolerant of their impious antics.

With reference to the revival of religion in our own day, he says,* of what he calls "the theological party," that "it has been steadily reconstituting itself since its complete discomfiture at the hands of the historical and natural sciences." Now, as regards Catholics, certain conditions and distinctions have always to be borne in mind. Catholics make no claim to be exempt from the general conditions of humanity or from the resulting danger of mistaking their own mere imaginings—the mental pictures which their various antecedents have caused them to form—for accurate representations of truths for the apprehension of which such images have served as *phantasmata*. The discovery of new scientific facts may therefore be very reasonably expected to cause a corresponding temporary *malaise*, from the necessity they may occasion of substituting a new mental picture for an old one, although the new one, no more than the old one, truly corresponds with objective reality. In retreating from old imaginative standpoints, there need be no abandonment whatever of the truth the old imagination had served to make easily tenable. He says that the

"theological party" "passes lightly from the true *ignoramus!* of science to the *ignorabimus* of pseudo-science, and thence by an easy stage, the illogic of which is scarcely noticed by the untrained mind, to the characteristic theological *Credendum est!* . . . natural selection has not been proved up to the hilt, *ergo* benevolent design, and an ever-acting Creator and Ruler are shown us with an irresistible force."

This is a fair example of Karl Pearson's sarcasm. Of course he does not, or will not, see that the conclusion is not an absurd inference from ignorance to knowledge, but a perception of the evident results of universal, necessary truths, above all that of causation, as applied to the consideration of a world wherein intellect and moral perception exist as they do in mankind. He continues:

"This apparent reconciliation of religion and science is accompanied by a nebular theology, which is quite unassailable, because it disclaims

all written creeds and bases itself upon no definite passages of any inspired book."

This is too ludicrous in the face of the Athanasian Creed, and that of St. Pius the Fifth. Are not they written ones? Are not such passages of an inspired book as "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," and "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," appealed to by teachers of the Catholic Church? As the author most truly¹ says, "there is a *non sequitur* at every turn," but such are to be found in the writings of the author himself. He speaks indeed of "ingrained prejudice" as "characteristic of the theological school" (p. 347), but certainly it would be difficult to find a more apparently "ingrained prejudice" than that which characterises Karl Pearson.

The succeeding passage is a choice example of confusion of thought and complete ignorance of the standpoint of those he may regard as his special enemies:

"The next stage," he declares, "in the process of reaction is, as of old, to claim for religion a monopoly of the moral basis, and hence, by an easy paralogism, a monopoly of morality; . . . thus it is argued that naturalism can provide no basis for ethics."

But our readers know well enough that Catholic morality is based on reason; on the intellect's intuitions in the domain of ethics, and that it does not depend upon the Will of God, though revealed religion gives to it a support and assistance of unspeakable value.

Great is his indignation that reason should, in this department of knowledge, be allowed even a hearing by any physicist. The fact that "scientific journals not only deign to discuss, but even praise" works even faintly supporting the claims of religion enrages him. With lofty superiority, he tells us they "ought to have been sternly repudiated at their first appearance."

He is indignant, also, at any statement of the plain fact "that naturalism* can provide no basis for ethics." This, as he

* As he repudiates the objective validity of all absolute necessary truths, he does not include under "naturalism" man's natural power of intuiting truths of such a character.

most truly says, Mr. Balfour has demonstrated, and we humbly hope we have also aided * in making that truth evident.

It is natural that he should complain of "the appearance of criminal anarchists of the type of Caserio and Vaillant" being attributed to materialism, and the ethical system favoured by his own school.†

According to the Catholic teaching, the greatest of all sins is the sin of pride. We do not by any means accuse the Professor of this vice, but it is impossible for anyone to be blind to the seemingly overbearing arrogance with which he writes.

As to the malefactors he refers to, there can be no doubt that materialism, irreligion, and pride are their common characteristics. In the same number of the *Fortnightly Review* wherein Professor Pearson's article appears, and in juxtaposition therewith, our readers will find a graphic description of such criminals by one who knows them well—Charles Malato.‡

He tells us that Ravachol had a "*proud* expression of face" and "died with sincere faith in his own righteousness," "holding his head high and menacingly." He speaks of Vaillant "repressing his rebellious pride." Emile Henry was *proud* even as a boy, while as a man he was *very proud*. "The thought that he" had killed the six policemen "filled him with a *proud* satisfaction," and he was "supreme in his cold *hauteur*." No excuse can be offered for this mean wretch on account of love for the poor, since § "he felt a marked estrangement from the ignorant and servile plebs."

* See "On Truth," pp. 243-255.

† We read with much pleasure in note on p. 338 that we may expect something from him on "the relation of rationalism with ethics." If we find on its perusal we have done him the smallest injustice, we will most gladly apologise and confess our faults towards him, feeling also most sincere regret for the same.

‡ The publication of his article in such a periodical is very remarkable, and a very sinister sign of the times. Some extenuation might be urged for criminals carried away by a pure passion for what they deem the good of other men and women. But Faure is therein characterised as "the Lovelace of Anarchy," and though Malato admits that Ravachol coined, robbed, murdered a helpless old man, and violated a tomb, yet he "much prefers" him to Titus, Turenne, or the Marquis de Gallifet, though he deprecates his beatification by another Anarchist under the horribly revolting title "Ravachol-Jesus." After recounting the brutal murder of six innocent men by the miscreant Henry, its anniversary is cynically spoken of as that of "the dancing lesson," and this, though a somewhat rough handling of revolutionists who were assembled under the red flag, is characterised as "an outrage on humanity!"

§ P. 332.

Vaillant's bombastic tirade delivered as his defence shows the relation too often existing between anarchical principles and a smattering of materialistic scientific teaching. He addressed his judges as follows :

" Ah, gentlemen, of how little account are your assembly and your verdict in the history of humanity, and of how little account, too, is humanity in the vortex which is carrying it through immensity, where it is doomed to vanish, or rather to be transformed, in order to recommence the same history and the same acts, by reason of the eternal play of the cosmic forces which are renewed and transformed to infinity."

This speech may bring before the minds of many persons another wherein we heard of " the infinite azure of the past."

It would of course be even more cruelly unjust than manifestly absurd to connect the name of any eminent man of science with anarchism in the sense of implying any indifference of mind on his part to such anti-social wickedness. But it is impossible to deny that the *principles* adopted by not a few such men necessarily tend to develop anarchism. Poor Mr. Herbert Spencer had not long ago to protest against his own name being coupled therewith; and with good reason, seeing the excellent service he had lately done to political conservatism. Yet the anarchists themselves, and they surely ought to know the fountains at which they have drunk, take a different view. Charles Malato himself couples together* the teachings of " Prudhom, Karl Marx, Spencer, and Krapotkine." In spite of themselves all utilitarian moralists, even though of the school of Herbert Spencer, cannot, struggle as they may, hinder the evil effects of their principles; and Mr. Kidd has well shown the inevitable outcome of materialism to be social anarchy. Also when once men are thoroughly convinced that there is no happiness possible for them save in this life, a vast multitude will be led to snatch at all the pleasure they can attain here and now, regardless of the calamities, to others, their acts may afterwards bring about.

Materialism and anarchy are indeed, it were, but the two opposite faces of one shield, and the proud, arrogant spirit which some scientific writers have displayed cannot but call to mind the proud feelings of Mr. Malato's friends and associates.

* P. 323.

But we can well understand how the reaction sure to be brought about by the anarchical results of such teaching must be alike distasteful to the two contiguous authors in the *Fortnightly Review* referred to, widely as they differ.

Mr. Karl Pearson laments * the present time "when everything spells REACTION." "Some readers," he says, may think "he overrates" the danger of the *reaction* "which is spreading among us; . . . they have but a very imperfect appreciation of the forces of *reaction* at present at work," which are "noticeable on every side." It is pleasant to read these consoling words and we are grateful to the Professor for them.

Mr. Pearson is very angry with Lord Salisbury because he has said that few men "would fancy that the laboratory or the microscope could help them to penetrate the mysteries which hang over the nature and the destiny of the soul of man," and he indignantly exclaims:†

"What man thinks of the destinies of his soul, and of his own relations to the cosmos, will be inevitably influenced by what the physicist and the biologist tell him of the probable past and future of the Universe . . . If *few* men recognise how physical research has moulded and is moulding religious belief, it is simply because few study the history of religious thought. If the theology of to-day escapes the critical influence of microscope and laboratory, it is simply because its doctrines are so nebulous, its nature so perturbed, that no definite theogenetic or cosmogenetic fact is allowed to crystallise out."

To all this there is a very short reply: no one disputes that advance in science can change and has changed, as age has succeeded age, the mere mental pictures, the phantasms of the imagination which have served to support intellectual concepts as to dogmas, but such changes are of no importance whatever, and leave articles of faith utterly unchanged for the intellect.

Were the material universe of the imaginable vastness we now attribute to it, or were it only of the size attributed to it, say in the ninth century, makes not the slightest difference to the dogmas of creation, the moral condition of man, his salvation through God's incarnation, and the eternal future in store for him. So again, whether the organic world was created in two days, or has been evolved by the aid of "natural selection"

* P. 336.

† P. 340.

through billions of billions of years, is a matter of no consequence whatever to the Catholic Christian as such.

It is the slavery of the imagination and nothing else (ethics apart) which prevents men like Karl Pearson from seeing this most obvious truth, and it is a bondage of the imagination in the opposite direction which has caused and causes good Christians to be troubled when called on by God's natural revelation, through physical science, to adjust their mental pictures in accordance therewith. Hence the vain and empty shouts of triumph of the unbelievers, and hence also the sighs and complaints of believers who possess minds of small flexibility.

Professor Pearson will hardly, we think, on reflection, venture to call the doctrine taught by the creed of St. Pius V. "nebulous," nor affirm that the doctrines of absolute creation and the Incarnation are not given as "cosmogenetic and theogenetic facts."

The Professor energetically repudiates the "old bigotry" of Moleschott and Büchner, who would explain the whole universe by matter and force. This is very natural on the part of an adept of the "new bigotry," which would explain the universe not by the frank materialism of the authors last named, but by a professed idealism which is a materialism disguised and disavowed—a process we have already characterised. Here, for the present, we bid adieu to Mr. Karl Pearson. Our object has only been to make use of him as an excellent example of the fettering action on science of a slavery to the imagination.

Other examples are such biological speculators as Darwin, Weismann, Nägeli, Whitman, &c., who have supposed the existence of a variety of oddly-named imaginary particles* as the

* Such as the "gemmules" (of Darwin); "idants," "ids," "determinants," "biophors" (of Weismann); "micellæ" (of Nägeli); "plastidules" (of Elsberg and Haeckel); "inotagmata" (of Th. Engelmann); "pangenes" (of de Vries); "plasomes" (of Wiesner); "physiological units" (of Herbert Spencer); "idiosomes" (of Whitman); &c. Professor Oscar Hertwig, however, has suggested (*Zeit und Streitfragen der Biologie*, Jena, 1894) a specific "plasm" of the parent organism, not built up of determinants. He makes no supposition as to the physical nature of this specific, but, coining a new word, *incipia*, suggests that they grow and develop only in the presence of numerous external conditions and stimuli. This hypothetical, non-materially presented "plasm" may really represent the *psyche* or *anima* which this author blindly and unconsciously seeks. Of course no one pretends that such dynamic principle of individuation can produce its normal results save under the needful conditions and the action of appropriate stimuli.

explanation of the vital processes of organisms, especially of their transmission of parental characters to offspring.

When carefully considered, however, each of these particles will be found no less to need explanation than do the phenomena they are called on to explain. The difficulty is in no way diminished, but simply moved further back. However we may minimise or subdivide such supposed material elements, the same difficulty will ever recur. Each such imagined particle will itself be found to be but an organism "writ-small."

On the other hand, the conception of an immaterial, immanent, dynamic principle of individuation, is the only really satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of organic life. Bearing in mind what we have seen to be most certain with respect to ourselves, it is plain that no one can deny that such a principle is a *vera causa*, evident to the intellect, though utterly beyond all our powers of imagination.

The objections which have been brought against it, and the prejudices which oppose its reception, are solely due to the fettering action of sensuous mental images, and the mistaken supposition that its asserters regard as objective truths and adequate representations the phantasms which necessarily accompany and support the intellectual conception referred to.

By the *anima*, we of course mean the "form" of Aristotle, and the Scholastics, as to which both St. Thomas and Scotus affirm that it *dat esse rei, dat distingui, dat nominari*, and thus it constitutes the very essence of each living organism.

This essential constituent of each such creature, which, under due conditions, makes it what it is to be—though due, of course, ultimately to a Divine act—is mediately due to the action of those powers which have been implanted by God in Nature, and which by their activity evolve it.

In the next part of this article we propose to pass from the consideration of the fettering effects of the imagination as herein considered with respect to biology, to its analogous influence on physics, and as the occasion of difficulties which many persons feel with respect to religious dogmas.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

Science Notices.

London Coal Gas.—Professor Vivian B. Lewis, the superintendent gas examiner to the Corporation of London, has recently made public some facts concerning the London gas supply which up to the present time have not been generally known to the consumer.

It appears to have been supposed that, while the price of gas has been falling, its light-giving qualities have been improving. This, however, is a fallacy. It is true that since 1850, when attention was first paid to the illuminating value of the gas supply of the Metropolis, certain Acts have changed the standard of London gas from a light of twelve candles to sixteen candles, but it must be remembered that the light emitted from a gas flame depends upon the form of burner used, and the difference in the candle-power now supplied is in reality due to the improved standard burners used for gas testing. In 1850 the standard testing burner was the 15-hole Argand. In 1864 this was replaced by a 15-hole stealite burner, which so increases the temperature of the flame as to develop 11 per cent. more light. In 1869 the London Argand 24-hole burner was used. This still further increased the light to over 19 per cent.

There is another fact concerning the gas supply which is very important for the consumer to know. Since 1850 there has been a distinct change in the proportions in which certain constituents of gas exist. The constituents of coal gas can be divided into three classes: 1. Those which give the flame its illuminating properties; 2. The combustible diluents which give size and body to the flame; 3. Certain impurities. The constituents which give the luminous qualities are the unsaturated hydrocarbons. The combustible diluents consist of the saturated hydrocarbon methane, hydrogen, and carbon monoxide. Recent examination has shown that the hydrogen is now nearly 6 per cent. higher than it was in 1884, the carbon monoxide is over 3 per cent. higher, while the saturated hydrocarbons are 5 per cent. lower. This has no practical effect upon the illuminating power, but the change in quantities of these constituents has produced a curious phenomenon in the size of the flame. About eighteen months ago Professor Lewis's attention was called to the fact that many consumers in the city found that their gas bills were considerably increased without any corresponding increase in the

number of burners they used or in the time during which the gas was burnt. The Corporation Committee for county purposes gave the Professor the task of unravelling the mystery. For long he was puzzled, but at last he discovered the cause. It is that of late years the height of the flame necessary to produce sixteen candles has decreased in size. Three years ago the flame of a London standard Argand burning sixteen-candle coal gas at the rate of 5 cubic feet an hour was exactly 3 inches in height. Now, however, the flame under the same conditions is only 2·6 inches. This result is caused by the alteration in the proportions of the constituents of the gas. The height of the flame entirely depends upon these constituents. Hydrogen gives an excessively short flame, while methane or marsh gas will give a flame four times as long, when burning at an equal rate of glow. Carbon monoxide gives a flame intermediate between the two. The exact height of a hydrogen flame burning at the rate of 5 cubic feet per hour in a London Argand burner is 0·985 inch, that of carbon monoxide is 2·206 inches, that of methane 4·25 inches. The professor concludes that it is evident that the increase in the quantities of hydrogen and carbon monoxide during late years in London coal gas and the decrease of methane is responsible for the alteration in the size of the flame. When the consumer lights his gas burner he is apt to turn on the gas until he obtains the largest possible flame without roaring or smoking. Owing to the alteration in the quantities of the constituents of the gas he uses much more than before. If he wants to find his gas bill as it was a few years back he must study the size of his flame. It would be a kindly action on the part of gas companies to officially inform users of the effects of the alteration—viz., they now can obtain the same amount of light as formerly with a smaller flame.

There appear to be two causes for the alteration in composition :
1. At the Metropolitan gas works it is now usual to employ higher retort temperatures than were formerly used. This has decreased the percentage of hydrogen in the gas supplied by the Gas Light and Coke Company and the South Metropolitan and Commercial Companies. 2. The gas supplied by the London Gas Light and Coke Company has been affected in composition by one of the methods of enrichment they adopt. As is well known, the gas supplied by the London gas companies is continually being subjected to photometric tests at stations spread over the whole area supplied. Any falling short of the specific illuminating power is penal. The gas made from Seaborne and Durham coal, which is the kind generally used in the Metropolis, gives only fifteen candles. As, to ensure the illuminating power being up to the standard, the gas has to be

sent out from the works tested up to some seventeen candles it is necessary to have some process of enriching it from two to two-and-a-half candles. The enrichment is accomplished in various ways : 1. By the admixture of a certain percentage of Cannel coal with the original gas-coal. 2. By carburetting the coal gas with the vapours of volatile hydrocarbons : by mixing the gas with carburetted water-gas. Up to four years ago the method of the admixture of a certain percentage of Cannel coal with the Durham coal was universally adopted, but when the price of Cannel coal went up other means of enriching the gas had to be adopted. The Gas Light and Coke Company have used carburetted water-gas, and this burns with a short though bright flame.

Professor Lewis lays great stress on the inefficient burners by means of which the public burn the gas and thereby lose much of its illuminating powers. "From a so-called sixteen-candle coal gas the consumer rarely obtains a value of more than twelve candles per 5 cubic feet of gas consumed ; while by using burners of rational construction upwards of forty-candle illuminating power could be obtained for the same consumption of gas." The worst burners in use are the flat flame burners, while the best obtainable are the regenerative type, in which the increase in illuminating value is almost entirely due to the rise in temperature, causing methane, which forms about 34 per cent. of the coal gas by volume, to become a valuable illuminant. About 85 per cent. of the burners used by the public are of the flat and inefficient type. The obstinacy of the public in adhering to the old-fashioned burner and ignoring improvements may be due to some extent to the feeling that gas as an illuminant has a powerful rival, and that it must before very long be "improved away."

Professor Lewis is strongly in favour of the proposition made a little while ago that the gas companies should be allowed to supply unenriched coal gas to the public at a lower rate than is at present charged for the enriched sixteen-candle gas. He thinks that the eye would not be able to detect the difference even with the flat-flame burners now in vogue. The suggestion to lower the light-giving standard will seem to many a retrogression. The electrician will probably say it is the first signs of the decadence of gas as an illuminant.

Helmholtz.—Yet another of the giants of scientific achievement has to be numbered in the death-roll of 1894. On September 8, Hermann von Helmholtz died at the age of seventy-three. Though

he lived to this advanced age, until quite lately he was actively engaged in scientific pursuits. It was only in 1893 that he journeyed to Chicago to take part in the congress of electricians. One of the most striking features of Helmholtz's work was perhaps his rare facility of combining thoroughness with an aptitude for studying a variety of subjects. As Sir Henry Roscoe has recently written, he was at once a surgeon, a physiologist, a physicist, a mathematician, a metaphysician, a musician, and littérateur.

At an early age he acquired a love for seeking the truths of nature, which in later life became a passion. It is said that when a child he was wont to arrange his toy building-blocks into geometrical forms, and thus laid up a store of knowledge which astounded his teachers when he made his advent at school. When Helmholtz grew up, although his heart was set on the study of pure science, practical reasons prevailed upon his father to urge his son to adopt a more paying profession, and to content himself with pursuing his tastes in his leisure hours. He therefore became an army surgeon. From this course of action the world has been much benefited, for it is doubtless due to his medical surroundings, combined with his grasp of the laws of optics, that his mind was led to invent the well-known ophthalmoscope and ophthalmometer. In 1847 his famous essay on the "Conservation of Force" was published. In the same year Joule was trying to make the British physicists listen to his theory of the conservation of energy. Helmholtz and Joule were in fact following the same lines of thought independently of one another, and finding equal difficulty in persuading the older generation of scientists in their respective countries to attach to their reasoning the value it deserved. The essay of Helmholtz was declared by the Berlin Physical Society to be a fantastical speculation, while Joule, when he first expounded the theory at a lecture in Manchester, found difficulty in getting any editor to publish an account of it in a newspaper. Perseverance, however, on the part of the two scientists gained for each in time the appreciation of the scientific world, and the acknowledgment that Helmholtz made the clear statement of the conservation of energy as specially applied to the living organism, and that to Joule belonged the honour of establishing on a basis of experiment the value of the mechanical equivalent of heat. After the publication of the essay Helmholtz abandoned his career of surgeon, and, being offered the professorship of physiology and pathology in the University of Konisberg, gained his desire of devoting his life to research.

He afterwards, in succession, held professorships of physiology in the universities of Konisberg, Bonn, and Heidelberg, and in 1871 he

was made Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Berlin.

To sum up the scientific work of the great German professor in a few lines is no easy task, so thorough and far-reaching were his investigations into various branches of science.

Of all his works perhaps that which is most appreciated by the public is the ophthalmoscope, before referred to, which, by enabling the oculist to study intently the most sensitive sense organ created by nature—the retina, has brought about relief and cure to many a sufferer from diseases of the eye. The *chef d'œuvres* of his writings were undoubtedly his great work on the “Sensations of Tone,” which appeared in 1863, and his treatise on optics, which came out in parts during 1856, 1860, and 1866, and which exhaustively treated the mechanism of the eye, the sensation of sight, and other optical subjects. The theory of colour adopted by Helmholtz was that espoused by Young, though the former somewhat enlarged upon it. By this theory all the sensations of colour are compounded out of three fundamental sensations, which are respectively red, green, violet or blue. This theory is now generally in vogue, and, as Professor Rücker has lately reminded us in his article on Helmholtz in the *Fortnightly Review* of November, 1894, the committee of the Royal Society, formed to report on colour vision, “adopted the terminology of the Young-Helmholtz theory, but pointed out that it fails to explain some curious cases of diseased vision in which the sensation of colour is confined to the blue end of the spectrum, while all the other tints appear in white.”

An important discovery of Helmholtz was undoubtedly the rate of propagation of excitation along the nerves. Another investigation which alone might have secured him fame was that which was concerned with the laws of vortex motion, an important feature indeed in the economy of nature if Lord Kelvin's daring speculation is true and all matter is “vortex rings in a frictionless liquid.”

Recurrent Vision.—Mr. Shelford Bidwell has recently been carrying on experiments which extend our knowledge of that curious and somewhat obscure phenomenon called by its first observer, Professor C. A. Young, “Recurrent Vision.” He noticed in 1872 that if a powerful Leyden jar is discharged in a dark room there are two if not more after images seen of any conspicuous object in the room at intervals of not less than a quarter of a second during which time complete darkness prevails. The cause of the effect seems to be due to an oscillation of the optic nerve, under the action of light of

limited duration, the period of darkness following as a reaction after the luminosity, and again after abnormal darkness there is a rebound into feebler luminosity.

A few months after Professor Young published his note on the subject in the *Philosophical Magazine*, Mr. A. S. Davis gave an account of his observations in the same journal, one of these being that when a piece of charcoal, one end of which was red hot, was waved about so as to describe an ellipse or circle a few inches in diameter, a blue image of the burning end was seen following the charcoal at a short distance behind it, the space between the charcoal and its image being absolutely dark. In 1885 Mr. Shelford Bidwell described in *Nature* a simple experiment to show the recurrent image :

If an ordinary vacuum tube, illuminated by an induction coil discharge, is made to rotate slowly upon an horizontal axis fixed at right angles to the middle of the tube, the tube is seen to be followed at a distance of a few degrees by a ghost-like image of itself, the ghost exactly imitating the original in form, but having a uniform steel-grey colour.

M. Aug. Charpentier recently revived interest in the subject by his paper entitled "Oscillations Rétinienues," *Comptes Rendus*, vol. cxiii., 1891. In this paper he describes an experiment in which a black disc having a white sector is illuminated by a strong light. If the disc is slowly revolved while the observer's eyes are fixed upon the centre, a well-defined dark band is seen upon the white sector near its leading edge and separated from the black ground of the disc by a similar white band. "The angular extension of the dark band increases with the speed of rotation and invariably takes the same time to pass over a fixed point in the retina. It begins about $\frac{1}{65}$ th second after the first passage of the white, and lasts sensibly the same time."

Mr. Shelford Bidwell's recent experiments deal partly with the colours of recurrent images under different conditions, partly with an extension of M. Charpentier's experiment. In June last he communicated the results to the Royal Society.

He has devised two distinct optical arrangements for showing the colours of recurrent images or, as he terms them, "ghosts." The first is a rough means of showing the phenomena and suitable for exhibiting the effects to large audiences.

He rotates a metal disc having a circular opening near its edge in front of the condensers of a projection lantern. The image of the aperture is focussed upon a distant screen. When a plate of coloured glass is placed in front of the lens of the lantern a small coloured disc of light describing a circular path is visible on the screen.

The coloured disc as it moves is pursued by a "ghost" of the same size and shape, though much less brilliant. Its colour varies with the colour of the glass used. With white electric light the colour is violet. For obtaining certain results he employs a somewhat more elaborate apparatus, using the simple colours of the spectrum. In this the light from any selected part of the spectrum is projected upon a small mirror to the back of which is attached an horizontal arm not quite perpendicular to the mirror. This arm is revolved by clockwork, and the reflected beam of light is received upon a screen and forms a coloured disc about 1.5 centimètres in diameter, revolving in a circular path having a diameter of 30 centimètres. With one turn of the mirror in $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds the "ghost" appeared about 50° behind the coloured disc at a time interval of $\frac{1}{5}$ th second. It was circular in form, its diameter being rather less than the original. The following are the decisions respecting the colours of the "ghosts" responding to different parts of the spectrum. These colours have been agreed upon by several persons.

With the extreme violet of the spectrum there was no perceptible image at all, but with the middle violet there was a pure image of somewhat doubtful tint, being described by some as grey, by others as yellow and greenish-yellow. The dark blue gave a feeble violet "ghost," the light blue one of a brighter violet. The middle green gave a still brighter violet; with greenish-yellow the image was blue; with orange-yellow, bluish-green; with orange a dark bluish-green. Orange-red produced the same colour only still darker. Red is remarkable as giving no image at all, however bright the red is made.

When a complete small spectrum was revolved parallel to itself in a circle about 1 mètre in diameter, it was attended by a "ghost" of a violet hue. Mr. Shelford Bidwell has come to the conclusion that these "ghosts" are due to a reaction of the violet nerve fibres only, and gives four reasons for such a belief: 1. With white light the "ghost" is violet; 2. With the complete spectrum the "ghost" is violet; 3. There is no "ghost" produced by pure red light, and it is supposed by the believers in the Young-Helmholtz theory that red light has no action upon the violet nerve fibres; 4. The apparently blue colour of the recurrent image of simple spectrum yellow is also produced by a compound yellow consisting of green and red, the latter being inert when tested separately.

In Mr. Shelford Bidwell's extension of M. Charpentier's experiment the Charpentier effect of the dark band is accompanied by the "ghost."

To accomplish this he makes use of two blackened discs 15 centi-

mètres in diameter, from each of which two opposite quadrants were cut out. The discs are mounted in contact with one another on an horizontal axis, driven by clockwork and making one turn in $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. By slipping the discs over one another round their centres it is possible to obtain open sectors of varying apertures. The discs are placed opposite a ground-glass screen, behind which there are incandescent electric lamps. When the sectors are opened as widely as possible Charpentier's dark band appears upon the translucent background. The sectors are then closed up until the posterior edge of the dark band coincides with that of the sector. It is found that the arc of the open sector is equal to about $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ nd part of the whole circumference. The dark reaction therefore ceases in $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ th second after the first excitation by the light. It is observed that the posterior edge of the open sector is bordered by a luminous fringe, due to persistence. A little beyond the edge of the fringe there appears an intensely black radial band covering a space of about 4° . After an interval of some 40° this is followed by the luminous "ghost" of a blue colour.

M. Charpentier was able with difficulty under good conditions to detect a second and even third dark band of diminished intensity. The ingenuity of Mr. Shelford Bidwell has rendered their observation easy. In a blackened zinc disc 15 centimètres diameter he cuts two opposite radial slits about 0.5 millimètre. The disc is rotated at the rate of one turn per second in front of the translucent background. This background is covered with opaque paper in which a circular opening is made of slightly less diameter than the disc. When the disc is placed opposite this opening no light reaches the eye except that which passes through the two slits. When the disc is observed from a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mètres, the eye being fixed upon its centre, each slit gives four or even five luminous images. "arranged like the ribs of a partly opened fan."

The images are distinctly separated by dark intervals near the circumference, but overlapping towards the centre. The leading image is the brightest, each succeeding image being of diminished intensity.

The Exploration of the Higher Atmosphere.—It is not always that so intrepid an observer of nature as Mr. Glaisher can be found to take soundings in the borderland of life, nor is there often available an aeronaut of such boldness, prudence and presence of mind as Mr. Coxwell displayed in his piloting of the ascent of seven miles on September 5, 1862.

But, even if there were no lack of volunteers for the aerial observatory, the experiment of Messrs. Glaisher and Coxwell proved that it would be useless to attempt to send human observers much further than seven miles. It seemed, therefore, as if investigations in the upper atmosphere must cease at that height. The experiment, however, of M. Hermite a little while ago showed that there is a very easy way of carrying on the exploration, and one that involves no risk to human life. He simply sent up a small pilot balloon with self-recording instruments, trusting to chance for the recovery of the balloon after it descended. Chance favoured the experimenter, and he recovered the balloon and the recording apparatus with its valuable testimony in perfect condition.

The balloon was made of gold-beater's skin, which has an admirable capacity for holding gas. It was originally intended to fill it with pure hydrogen, but, owing to a hitch in its manufacture, ordinary coal gas had to be used. The holding capacity of the balloon was 113 cubic mètres. Its weight, including the net, was 14 kilogrammes. The balloon carried in a basket a Richard self-registering apparatus for recording the temperatures and pressure. The balloon was furnished with an inflation pipe, 30 centimètres diameter and 90 centimètres long, by means of which air took the place of gas when the balloon made the descent.

The balloon ascended at Vaugirard at 12.25 p.m., and descended at Chanvres near Joigny at 7.11 p.m.

The diagram recorded on the revolving cylinder showed that the registering of the pressure had been continued down to 95 millimètres of mercury, which meant that the highest point to which the balloon had ascended was 17,000 mètres. At a level of 14,000 mètres a temperature of 51° centigrade (60° below zero, Fahrenheit) was registered. These records show that the temperature of the upper regions is much less than has been supposed. Mr. W. De Fonville has drawn attention to the fact that, considering Professor Dewar's and Cailletet's discoveries relating to the liquification and solidification of the air, it became necessary to admit that "the air loses its gaseous condition and becomes changed into a series of minute crystals or drops, which follow the earth in its motion through space, and are constantly vaporised when falling in regions where the temperature is somewhat above the point of liquefaction or evaporation."

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Amir's Surgeon on Afghanistan.—The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society for the first quarter of 1894 contains the report of an interesting address on Afghanistan by Dr. Gray, Surgeon to the Amir. The route by which the capital is reached is through the Khyber Pass, open only on Mondays and Thursdays, when, in consideration of a subvention of £7,000 a year from the Indian Government, the mountain tribes engage to leave travellers unmolested. A wearisome ride of twelve miles between bare mountains from Jumrud on the hither, to Ali Musjid on the further side of the pass, lies among the Khyberi villages, each a square fort with towers at the four angles and entered by a single gate. The wall is pierced for rifles, and as each village is frequently at war with its nearest neighbour, these defensive precautions are by no means superfluous. After passing Lundi Kotal, the last British post, a fortified serai or stopping-place for caravans, the Shinwarri country is reached; and later on, Dakkha, the first outpost of the Amir. An excellent mountain road, made by the British during the Afghan war, leads along the spurs of the mountains that enclose the Kabul Valley, the next important halting-place being the walled city of Jelalabad, situated in the midst of a wide plain. Both here and at the Nimla Garden farther on, the party were quartered in a pavilion belonging to the Amir, surrounded by flowers and orange-trees in blossom. A bleak mountain country was traversed during the succeeding marches, until the culminating point was reached in the Latabund Pass 8,000 feet high, by a road which seemed to cling to the ledges of the peaks. The topmost pinnacle was crowned by a gruesome reminder of the Amir's savage justice, a cage fixed on a mast, in which a noted robber was once enclosed. Kabul, lying in its green valley, looks a paradise when first sighted from these desolate crags, and the roads leading to it are fringed with poplars, and pass through cultivated fields with irrigation ditches between them. The general effect produced by the city on entering it, however, is one of dirt and dilapidation, although the groups of people clad in brightly coloured garments give animation to the narrow and roughly paved streets. The bazaars, with their low and dingy stalls, are roofed in to screen them from the sun, and here some European commodities can be purchased, as well as the brown native frieze, the

carpets of Turkestan, sheepskin vests, bread in flat oval cakes, and Kabuli mutton. The private houses, one of which was assigned to Dr. Gray, are built on the side of an enclosure, in which is a yard or garden with a well in the centre. In the ordinary ones the windows are unglazed, and closed only by shutters. The Amir's residence is enclosed within the moat-girdled circuit of the Ark, or fortified palace, comprising many separate groups of buildings. Among these is his Highness's pavilion, built after his own design in the form of a cross with a circular domed hall in the centre, each arm opening by a large window on the rose garden which surrounds the whole. Prince Habibullah, a young man of about twenty-four, who speaks a little English, received the visitors in his father's absence.

Excursion to Afghan Turkestan.—The Amir was then (April 6th, 1889) in Turkestan, and thither Dr. Gray, bidden to follow him, started with a convoy of treasure under a large cavalry escort on May 16th. The crossing of the Hindu Khush by rugged paths still sloppy with melted snow was not accomplished without considerable hardships, as the tents were sometimes left behind, and provisions were but scantily supplied by the mountain villages. The remains of several deserted cities, all ascribed by Afghan tradition to Sekunder or Alexander, showed that this waste had once been more populous. The last day's ride of forty miles led over undulating downs and a flat dusty plain from Tashkurghan to Mazar-i-Sherif, where the Amir was in occupation of the new palace built by him in the midst of a large walled garden full of almond trees and flowers. His Highness is described as a fair-skinned man, sunburnt to swarthinness, with piercing eyes and black hair. On September 15th, his youngest son Prince Mahomed Omar was born, and at four months old was installed in his own establishment with his political wives, horses, and signet. He is in Afghan eyes the lawful heir to the throne, as he is of royal blood on both sides, his mother the Sultana being the Amir's cousin of the Suddozye tribe.

During the summer, intermittent fever raged among the troops, so the doctor's office was no sinecure. The hospital was a large garden or orchard where the patients were laid on beds under the trees, or when the place was crowded simply on the grass, the absence of dew and great dryness of the air rendering this *al fresco* cure possible. The little prince was vaccinated at four months old, and made great friends with his medical attendant. The latter having left him one day while he was laughing, was followed by one

of the old lady attendants to beg a hair from his head that it might be burnt so as to avert the evil presaged by this occurrence. The return journey to Kabul was made in June 1890, when the heat was so great as to compel the travelling to be done at night. Many lost their way in consequence, and the Amir himself on one occasion found himself wandering off towards Russia. The journey lasted forty days, and terminated with a state reception at Kabul.

Commercial Treaty with Japan.—The proof given by the Japanese in their war with China of their power of assimilating Western civilisation, enhances the importance of the treaty recently negotiated with them by the British Government. Its principal provisions, it is true, do not come into force for five years, so its value is rather prospective than actual. Its effect is, briefly, to place Japan on the same footing in relation to Great Britain as other civilised Powers; abolishing, on the one hand, the special Consular jurisdiction hitherto claimed by foreigners at the ports, and on the other, all existing restrictions on mutual intercourse, the subjects of each nation being placed on a footing of perfect equality with those of the other, and relieved of any special disability in either country. Freedom of commerce and navigation is also guaranteed between the dominions and possessions of the two Powers, with equality as to access to harbours and shipping facilities. According to the custom prevailing during the last fifteen years of making the acceptance of commercial treaties negotiated by Great Britain optional with her self-governing colonies, neither Canada nor Australia is as yet included in the treaty, which contains the usual clause excepting them from its operation, unless within two years of its ratification they should notify their wish to be included in it. Their known dislike to the admission of Asiatic immigrants would be a ground of objection which may possibly outweigh in their eyes its practical advantages, as its adoption would undoubtedly increase the number of Japanese settlers in their dominions, while precluding them from all restriction of their hospitality to them. The importance of its commercial facilities would, on the other hand, be very great. The Pacific trade proper, namely, that carried on by the ports on that ocean amongst themselves is, as the *Times* of October 22nd points out, in its weekly article on the Colonies, entirely a creation of the last five years; the impulse which called it into being having been given in the first instance by the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Since then the trade between China, Japan, and the ports of British Columbia has made such strides that no less

than three million pounds of tea have been landed on one wharf in Vancouver in a single week, while the ships of the Canadian-Australian line started only last June are sometimes unable to carry all the freight ready for them on the quays of the same port. The stimulating effect on this nascent trade of free access to the markets of a nation of forty millions at its very gates can scarcely be estimated, beforehand, but it would certainly be such as to revolutionise all the social conditions at present prevailing at these new meeting-points of East and West. Victoria has already sent a Commissioner to inquire into the prospects of trade with Japan, and has received a favourable report, as its imports already comprise raw sugar, wool, and leather. Mutton, moreover, now only procurable from China, is much esteemed as a delicacy in the Empire of the Mikado, and the statement of the Commissioner that it could be imported from Australia at a cost of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. or less, could scarcely be credited by the Japanese Minister of Agriculture.

Proposed Reclamation of the Zuyder Zee.—The Zuyder Zee Association, long engaged in the study of schemes for the drainage of its basin, has formulated one which has been approved with some modifications by a Royal Commission, whose report on the subject forms a quarto volume of 180 pages. Should the plan, as seems likely, be put in operation, the works, to be completed in thirty-three years, would begin with the construction of a great sea-wall or embankment across the mouth of the inland sea, where narrowed by the island of Wieringen, converting it into a freshwater lake communicating with the North Sea by a double set of locks for the admittance of shipping. The restriction of its waters within a central channel called the Ysselmeer, would then be commenced by the successive enclosure of its more deeply embayed portions, forming four separate sections with an aggregate area of 750 square miles. These “polders,” as such rescued lands are called in Holland, would be gradually drained by steam pumps lifting the water to higher levels with an eventual outflow to the sea. From the time that the drainage of the “polders” begins to take effect, some 25,000 acres of land will be every year brought into the market, giving a gradual return for the vast initial outlay. The entire cost is estimated at £26,250,000, while the value of the land reclaimed will, it is calculated, be £27,166,666, so that the scheme will eventually be remunerative to the nation. The sea-wall will have a length of about 25 miles, and will be raised on a foundation of earth, sand, and stones, enclosed in fascines. Its breadth at the surface of the water will be 216 ft.,

and it will rise some 17 ft. above it. Its actual summit will be no more than 6 ft. 6 in. across, but a level space lower down will afford space for both a cart-road and a railway-track. The contracted Zuyder Zee, or Ysselmeer, after all these changes, will be an oblong lake about 20 miles across, extending two branches of three miles in width westward to Amsterdam, and eastward to the mouth of the Yssel, which will thus have an outlet for its waters to the North Sea. The Zuyder Zee, as known to us, is a comparatively modern feature of the map of Europe, its expanse having been in the time of the Cæsars a wild forest area enclosing the comparatively small Lake Flevo, and traversed by rivers finding their way to the sea, where what is now an outlying fringe of islands then formed the coast of the mainland. So things might have remained, had not Drusus Nero conceived the idea of turning a branch of the Rhine into the Yssel, thus giving its channel a larger body of water to convey than its capacity admitted of. Disastrous inundations of the overfed rivers opened the way for irruptions of the sea through the breaches made by them in the low shores, until the present wide and shallow inlet was formed, having assumed its actual shape in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The Camel in Australia.—A new impetus has been given to Australian development by the increasing use of the camel. The deserts of the southern hemisphere seem no less adapted to the constitution of that wonderful quadruped than those of the old world, and it thrives admirably on the salt bush, wattle, mulga, acacia, and other spare vegetation of those arid plains. Although it is only about a quarter of a century since its first experimental importation, the number in use now amounts to nearly 10,000, while the race is so improved by scientific breeding, that the value of the Australian-reared specimens considerably exceeds that of those imported from India, which they surpass in size, in soundness of wind and limb, and in weight-carrying capacity. Port Augusta, 259 miles north-west of Adelaide, is the principal depot for their importation, as it contains a quarantine station where they are isolated for three months as a precaution against the outbreak of the fatal mange to which they are liable until thus acclimatised. The *British Australasian*, in its number on the goldfields of Western Australia, declares that the use of the camel caravan has rendered possible the cultivation of regions previously incapable of settlement, because cut off by a waterless zone impassable for any other form of transport. In Western Australia, again, camels are being utilised for rendering the new goldfields

accessible, and mining machinery is made in sections adapted for camel-loads. A novel feature introduced here is camel-waggon-transport, and teams of eight are being substituted for the four or more yoke of oxen previously used for draught. Well-sinking machinery is being sent on camel-back into the waterless country, and if the results prove at all commensurate to those achieved in Queensland, where some of the borings yield 2,000,000 gallons a day, a rapid transformation would be effected in the face of the country.

Peru, and the Head Waters of the Amazon.—A correspondent of the *Times* writing from Lima, on September 4th, describes the difficulties with which Peru is now threatened, in consequence of her dispute with Colombia and Ecuador as to the control of the Upper Amazon. The region in question, covering an area of 30,000 square miles, formed part of the ancient viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, before Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela became independent republics, and was transferred to Peru by a Royal Edict dated July 15th, 1802. The boundaries there laid down as constituted by the rivers Yapura, Napo, and Marañon, with all their tributaries, included the main feeders of the Upper Amazon, access to which thus became a Peruvian monopoly to the exclusion of Colombia and Ecuador. These latter States now demand the cession of all the territory north of the Amazon and its junction with the Napo, and are preparing to enforce their claim at the cannon's mouth. The lands of the Ecuador Land Company, an English concern, to which 4,000,000 acres have been granted, lie in the disputed territory, while the certainty of the eventual opening of navigation on the Amazon renders the question one of international interest. Peru, according to the account of its condition in the correspondent's letter, is little able to resist the claim. War and revolution have reduced its population both in the interior and on the coast, and it is described as in a general state of decadence. The railway from Lima to Oroya, which crosses the Cordillera at a height of 15,500 ft., passes the ruins of Inca towns and traces of extensive ancient cultivation in regions now waste and uninhabited. Freight is largely carried, even along the railway line, by mules, donkeys, and llamas, as the cost is less, and time of no account. If the line ever pay, it will only be when it reaches the Montaña, or rich and well-watered eastern slope of the Cordillera.

The Trans-Siberian Railway.—The first section, 495 miles long, of this great line is now open for traffic, and it is possible to make the journey from St. Petersburg to Omsk and back within ten days.

The difficulties of construction were very great as the track in one place, between Urakovo and Boulakava, lay for 70 miles through a marsh where engineers and navvies had to be housed in mud huts raised on piles and only accessible by boats. The country being mainly desert, all provisions for the expedition had to be carried with it, and some privation was occasionally unavoidable. The mosquitos were a veritable plague, and masks had to be worn as the only possible protection, fumigation proving ineffectual. The Siberian frontier is marked by a large wooden obelisk, with "Asia" inscribed on one face and "Europe" on the other. The *Geographical Journal* of January 1894 informs us that the Siberian Railway Committee had at that time decided to postpone for the present the construction of the very costly section of the line round Lake Baikal, the estimate for which is £2,500,000 sterling. It will run instead from Irkutsk to the shore of the lake, a distance of 53 miles, and be connected with the Middle Siberian section by steamers for eight months of the year, and by a temporary railway over the ice during the winter. The present highway from Siberia to the Amur skirts the lake, and has had to be cut in the face of the cliffs which rise from it to a great height, presenting a formidable impediment to railway cutting. On the second section of 326 miles, from Omsk to the Ob, as well as on the third, thence to Krasnoyarsk, the works are being actively pushed on, while the first 67 miles at the extreme eastern end, from Vladivostock to Nikolskoye, are already open for goods and passenger traffic. The possibility of navigation to the mouth of the Yenissei having been proved by the voyages of Captain Wiggins, it is obvious that that river and its tributaries, the Chulym and Angara, whose channels can easily be deepened, furnish the cheapest and shortest route for the importation of railway plant and material imported from Europe *via* the Arctic Sea. It has therefore been decided to build at once the trunk-line of 113 miles from Achinsk to Krasnoyarsk, connecting the basin of the Ob with that of the Yenissei, thus linking the two great arteries of navigation, and materially facilitating the construction of the main line from Irkutsk to Krasnoyarsk.

American Arctic Expedition.—The representative of a syndicate of American scientists and merchants, leagued together for the solution of the Polar problem, was interviewed on his arrival in Liverpool on November 18th by an emissary of Dalziel's agency. The equipment of an expedition, intended to start from New York in the spring, has been decided on, and a vessel, constructed on novel principles, is now being built for it. Every possible precaution will

be taken to insure its safety during a possible absence of seven years, and such stocks of fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit will be taken in addition to the usual supplies of tinned provisions, as to reduce the risk of scurvy to a minimum. The Baffin's Bay route, abandoned by recent explorers, has been practically determined on by the promoters, who hope "to definitely ascertain the nature of the Polar regions, and of the Pole itself before the expiration of the present century."

Portuguese Claim to the Discovery of America.—The priority of the Portuguese in the discovery of the western world was maintained by Mr. H. Yule Oldham, lecturer on geography at the University of Cambridge, at a technical meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on November 19th. The probability that the same accident which carried Cabral to the coast of Brazil in 1500 might have happened before, was urged as an *a priori* argument, but the strongest piece of evidence adduced was that of a map made by Andrea Bianco of Venice in London in 1448. On this map, the first containing the Portuguese discoveries as far as Cape Verde, is shown, stretching to the south-west of that promontory, a long coast line with the inscription "Genuine island is distant 1,500 miles to the west." Galvano, in his work "Discoveries of the World," stated that a Portuguese ship had been, in 1447, driven by a gale to an island in the west, which the writer believed to be one of the West Indian group afterwards discovered by Columbus, but which Mr. Oldham argued was more probably Brazil. The southerly route taken by the Genoese discoverer in his third voyage, was also attributed by the Spanish historian, Herrera, to his desire to find out whether King John of Portugal had been mistaken in maintaining that there was a continent to the southward. In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, the experts present, while acknowledging the interest and merit of Mr. Oldham's investigations of old charts, came to the conclusion that the evidence was insufficient to overthrow their belief in the priority of Columbus.

Notices of Books.

Institutiones Theologicæ in usum Scholarum. Auctore G. BERNARDO TEPE, S.J. Volumem primum continens tractatus *De Vera Religione, De Ecclesia Christi, De Verbo Dei Scripto et Tradito.* Parisiis: Sumptibus Lethielleux. 1894.

WHILE the great theological classics must ever retain their place for professors and the learned among our clergy, each succeeding age gives rise to smaller text-books adapted to the needs of students, and of those who have no time to consult lengthy treatises. Theology, the most conservative of the sciences, offers abundant scope for variety and freshness of treatment. The old truths can be presented in the light of recent decisions; doctrines which have become the object of special attack, can be set forth with greater fulness; current objections can be dealt with; and the verified conclusions of the ever-advancing profane sciences can be made to render service in confirming divine truths. Moreover, each age has its own way of acquiring and marshalling its knowledge. What, therefore, we look for in any new text-book, is that it shall be up to date in all, or at least in some, of these ways. By this we do not mean that it should contain the very latest views which are only just beginning to find their way into the schools; nor need it devote much space to the discussion of questions which are still undecided. Such matters are more fitly treated in reviews and essays.

Judged by these tests, Father Tepe's lately published manual can be highly recommended. Only one volume, containing the introductory treatise *De Vera Religione* and the sources of theological knowledge, has yet appeared. Three others will complete the work. The style is easy, the matter well distributed in numbered and lettered paragraphs, and there is a copious table of contents, serving not only as a *conspectus*, but also as an elaborate analysis of the various treatises. As regards the main divisions of the whole province of dogmatic theology, there is not much scope for originality; but one naturally looks to see the position assigned to the treatise *De Ecclesia Christi*. The Church is one of the *loci theologici*, and so must find a place in Fundamental (or General) Theology. But it is likewise the Mystical Body of Christ, ruling and sanctifying its members by applying to them His merits. It should therefore be treated also in connection

with the work of Redemption. This twofold treatment, proposed in Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, would seem to be the only adequate one. The position of the Church simply as a *locus theologicus* hampers Father Tepe, and prevents him from giving a truly comprehensive view of Christ's Kingdom. Again, Tradition, as essential to the transmission of the Word, as prior in time and wider in extent, should have precedence over Scripture. Franzelin's splendid treatise *De Divina Traditione et Scriptura* has firmly established this order. Turning next to the contents of the treatises, it will be found that Miracle and Prophecy are well dealt with; though some readers may think that more is assumed than our adversaries would grant. The same objection might be raised against the treatment of the genuineness and authority of the New Testament. But we must repeat that a theological text-book is not called upon to discuss the very latest phases of opinion. The large amount of space allotted to the historical aspect of dogma is a valuable feature. If, however, we had to point out Father Tepe's characteristic, we should say that he has the happy power of giving in the fewest words a ready answer to popular objections—a quality invaluable in the author of any manual.

T. B. S.

Petri Cardinalis Pázmány Dialectica, *quam e codice manuscripto biblio, thecæ universitatis Budapestinensis recensuit Stephanus Bognar. Budapestini. 1894.*

CARDINAL PÁZMÁNY (1570–1637), a convert from Calvinism, entered the Society of Jesus, and studied at Rome under Vasquez and Bellarmine. After his ordination he taught philosophy and theology for seven years. Then he devoted himself to missions and controversy. In 1616, he became Primate of Hungary, and in 1629, Cardinal. His voluminous writings are now in course of publication under the direction of the University of Buda-Pesth, which he himself founded originally at Tyrnau. The bulky volume before us contains a number of treatises on Dialectics (*De Natura Dialecticæ, De Universalibus, Prædicamenta*), and commentaries on Aristotle's Interpretation and Prior and Posterior Analytics. As far as I have been able to judge, the author was a man of extensive reading, and of profound and independent thought; but his style is so harsh and involved, that the sentences do not readily give up their meaning. Those, however, who take the trouble to labour in this mine of well-nigh seven hundred quarto pages will be amply rewarded.

T. B. S.

Kant et la Science Moderne. Par le R. P. TILMANN PESCH.
Traduit de l'allemand par M. LEQUIEN. Paris: Lethielleux.

THIS is a fresh volume of the excellent "Bibliothèque Philosophique," in course of publication by the eminent firm of Lethielleux of Paris. Students of a long course of philosophy must often feel weary of their well-worn text-book, however excellent it may be. By reading these monographs on Bacon, Conte, and now on Kant, they will experience an agreeable change, while at the same time adding largely to their knowledge. Father Pesch is a recognised authority on Kant, and his little work, entitled "Kant and Modern Science," is already well known in its original German. He looks upon the *Critique of the Pure Reason* as "the splendid raving of a superior mind," and his great aim is to destroy the idolatrous worship paid to its author. Modern science is based upon the *Critique*, and as this has no solidity, modern science must fall. Father Pesch is especially severe on such Catholics as have any sort of admiration for the philosopher of Königsberg. Now the writer of this notice confesses to be one of these, and, as he has no love for hard knocks, he had better say no more.

T. B. S.

The Drama of the Apocalypse. By EN DANSK. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.

THE author of this strange but valuable work is of opinion that the current interpretations of the Apocalypse, whether orthodox or rationalistic, are all wrong. The closing book of the New Testament is not (according to him) a prophecy of events since fulfilled, or yet to be fulfilled; nor is it a mere retrospective description of the fall of Jerusalem. The sixteen chapters (vi.-xxi.) with which alone he deals, "constitute a sort of scenic representation, mostly of a symbolic nature, part in action, part in tableaux or panoramas, part in narrative, and may be said to give us the DRAMA OF THE FUTURE, as enacted before the mental vision of John." The work is in no sense critical, previous authorities are studiously ignored, yet the author throws light on many obscure passages, and presents the visions with a vividness which is often wanting in the orthodox commentaries. The wealth of illustration from the Old Testament is especially worthy of commendation. Bearing in mind the point of view of "En Dansk," and making the necessary reserves, Catholic readers may derive much advantage from the study of his book.

T. B. S.

Japan. By DAVID MURRAY, Ph.D., LL.D. *Story of the Nations Series.* London : T. Fisher Unwin. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894. Pp. 431.

THIS story of Japan, of a restored empire which is adopting the civilisation and customs of the West, and is, at the time of writing, maintaining successfully, by sea and land, a struggle with the teeming millions of China, can scarcely fail to prove an interesting addition to the series in which it has been assigned a place. Japanese art, real and sham, plays a large part in the Western households of to-day ; and though, to quote Mr. W. S. Gilbert's poet of æstheticism, we may "not be fond of all one sees that's Japanese," the industry and ability of the nation that can produce articles, at once so cheap in price and so artistic in design, must arrest our attention. The volume before us traces the story of Japan from its beginnings in a vague and legendary antiquity down to the establishment of its present constitutional government. The author has evidently done his work carefully and, in the main, well. A great deal of information is supplied in the space at his disposal ; and if the style is less bright than we should desire, its sober, judicious tone betokens his painstaking desire to be clear, fair, and accurate.

The first two chapters are taken up with a description of the geographical features of the Japanese Archipelago, and the ethnography of the original and surviving races inhabiting the islands. The history of the founding and vicissitudes of the empire is then recounted. Prominence is given to the introduction and progress of Christianity. Mr. Murray relates how Fernam Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese traveller and trader, with two fugitives whom he had rescued from their pursuers, met St. Francis Xavier at Malacca in 1547. The saint was greatly interested in these Japanese fugitives, and took them with him to Goa, where they were baptised and instructed in the faith. With these efficient helps, St. Francis set out on his mission to Japan, and landed at Kagoshima, the capital of the province of Satsuma, on August 15th, 1549. He seems to have been much impressed by the character of the Japanese. Mr. Murray quotes from Father Coleridge's *Life of St. Francis Xavier* the following extracts from one of his early letters :

I really think that among barbarous nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than Japan. . . . They are wonderfully inclined to see all that is good and honest, and have an eagerness to learn.

A whole chapter is devoted to the chequered story of Christianity in the seventeenth century. The work of the Jesuits is described with

some detail, and in a kindly spirit. The author has evidently little sympathy with the popular Protestant tradition that represents the Jesuit as little better than the spirit of a Machiavelli, clad in a caesock, and stealing over the earth, interfering with all the affairs of nations. He says :

The instructions which were issued to the members of the Society of Jesus, however, forbade any Father to meddle in secular affairs, or to interfere in any way with the political concerns of the government in which they were labouring. That there were occasional instances of the disregard of this regulation by the enthusiastic members of the Order may be supposed, but it will be unjust and unfounded to attribute to this Society a settled policy of interference in the affairs of the nations where they were employed as missionaries (pp. 245, 246).

In 1614 Ieyasu published an edict for the expulsion of European missionaries, the demolition of their churches, and the compulsory perversion of the native Christians. To carry out this edict a special court or service was instituted by the government called the Christian Inquiry, which pursued tactics as miserable and unnatural as the penal laws now happily wiped out of our own statute-book. Tariffs of the rewards offered for the betrayal of kinsfolk and others were displayed on the edict, and were displayed as late as the year 1868.

In spite, however, of all the strenuous and protracted endeavours which were made to extinguish Christianity, the Christian world, in the middle of the present century, learnt with amazement that, in the villages round Nagasaki, wonderful survivals of the old faith still remained. Not only had words and symbols been preserved in the language, but whole communities of Christians still existed who had kept their faith for more than two hundred years.

Without priests, without teachers, almost without any printed instruction, they had kept alive by tradition through successive generations a knowledge of the religion which their ancestors had professed. These communities had no doubt maintained a discreet quiet as to the tenets of their belief (p. 379).

Appendices giving lists of the emperors, &c., are supplied, and the work is brought to a conclusion by a useful and copious index. In these days of the multiplication and perfection of process engraving, we are being led to expect more and more in the style of illustrations inserted in books. We are surprised that the publishers of the present volume, who have produced such good work, should have allowed many of the prints to pass muster.

J. B. M.

Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ständigen Nuntiaturen. Von Dr. ANTON PIEPER. Freiburg: Herder. 1894.

WE welcome this valuable contribution to the history of papal Nuntiatures. It is gathered from the Vatican Archives, and deals with the subject-matter in a manner that reflects credit on its author. Dr. Pieper, who has resided for several years in Rome, has successfully studied in that vast repository of papal documents, and thus became able to throw new light on a question which has been only slightly touched on by other students. The object of his investigations has been mainly the instructions given to the Nuncios from the middle of the fifteenth century, at the Courts of Madrid, Vienna, and Paris. The revised texts of these documents ere long will be gathered and brought out in a second volume, whilst the first part, just published, treats systematically the history of permanent Nuncios. It extends down from the above-mentioned period to the end of the Pontificate of Paul III. (1549). Of course, the ecclesiastical revolution of that period gave rise to many extraordinary papal embassies destined to the Imperial Court and the Diet of Germany. Dr. Pieper has done well in introducing them, as they illustrate the zeal shown by the Holy See in defence of the Church in Germany. But still it remains a subject of regret that the author has left out of his purview England which, for this period at least, could have provided him with abundant materials. In the first part, the origin of the office of Nuncios, their position in Curia, Romana, the instructions given them, and the activity they displayed, are clearly set forth. It is of importance to note that the instructions were of a twofold kind, secret and public. In the former the Nuncio became acquainted with the main features of the country whither he proceeded, its history, and the religious, and political situation. The latter provided him with information of a rather delicate character. For instance, that with which Cardinal Farnese was supplied when proceeding to Ratisbon, A.D. 1541, was called "secretissima," and no one was allowed to see it. An interesting part of the work is to be found in the author's comment on papal ciphers as employed in the instructions. The literary remains of Giovanni Argenti (1585-1591), and his nephew Matteo Argenti (1591-1606), principal decipherers of that period, are still preserved in the Chigi Library, Rome, and abound in valuable information. From Dr. Pieper we learn that the British Museum is in possession of the diary of Peter van der Vorst, whom Paul III. despatched into Germany (1536) to bring to the German princes the bull for assembling the Council at Mantua. We trust that the volume will shortly be followed by a second.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Der Einfluss der Religion auf das Leben beim ausgehenden Mittelalter, besonders in Dänemark. Von WILHELM SCHMITZ, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1894.

THE exiled Fathers of the German province of the Society of Jesus are successfully at work in Denmark, not only in the department of missionary labour, but also in that of Catholic science and historiography. F. Schmitz renders an account of the religious condition of the country, where he is now residing, as it is represented by contemporary historians in the period immediately preceding the Reformation. One would be disposed to imagine that the wave of destruction sweeping away the Catholic religion from the public life of Denmark would have carried with it any literary records bearing on the mediæval times. Fortunately, this has not been the case. To F. Schmitz' unwearied researches in the archives and public libraries we are deeply indebted for various valuable works, both printed and in manuscript, which enable the reader to form an adequate estimate of the Danish Catholics of that time. To most readers, German or English, the vast storehouse of Danish literature undoubtedly will be totally unknown, and the fact enhances the value of the present publications. We fully accept the words of a celebrated Protestant Danish historian: "In the period of the outgoing Middle Ages, the Catholic Church in the three northern realms extended her influence upon the whole of human life, both public and private, and impressed on it a peculiar stamp. Nobody was able to withdraw from her close and enduring influence, and no good Catholic had ever the intention of doing so. And this intimate familiarity between church and life, which were closely intertwined, presented a good and lovable aspect."

B.

The First Divorce of Henry VIII. : As told in the State Papers.

By MRS. HOPE. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1894.

AMONG other desirable ends which this interesting volume will doubtless serve, not the least important is that of a corrective to another account of the same subject, published by the late Professor Froude, some three years ago. Both books purport to give the story of Henry VIII.'s first divorce, as it is contained in the State Papers of the period. But Mr. Froude's object is the vindication of his hero's conduct, and in his brilliant *ex parte* statements he

professes to draw his conclusions solely from the letters of the Imperial ambassadors resident in London, a remarkable piece of audacity, seeing that those letters, and especially the ones which Chapuys wrote to the Emperor, are far more damaging to Henry's character than anything else that can be produced. The truth is, that to make the story of the divorce favourable to Henry's cause, it was necessary for Mr. Froude to become blind to a large amount of evidence, besides causing it to appear as if the Pope were responsible for the wearisome delays, for the sophistries and the technical *impedimenta* which hampered the business of every step, and which were in reality Henry's own work. The volume before us is in marked contrast with this method. It is the result of a careful study of all the published collections of State Papers appertaining to the King's divorce as well as of the other contemporary sources of information, and it presents the narrative to the reader in a plain, unvarnished manner, eminently readable, if devoid of the misleading witchery of Mr. Froude's romance. It throws valuable light on the rise, progress and issue of Henry's scruples of conscience, and it destroys some fond illusions which have been hitherto cherished with regard to the manner in which the suit was conducted, and the character of some of the actors in the drama. Thus, a favourite stalking-horse with the party eager for the divorce, was an alleged doubt, said to have been expressed by the Bishop of Tarbes, regarding the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. Mr. Bremer, after a critical examination of the documents relating to the negotiation of the Bishop of Tarbes in England, declares that the story was nothing but a political figment invented afterwards to justify the King's proceedings.

Mrs. Hope says (page 49):

Henry naturally felt a difficulty about the origin of his scruples. It was therefore planned one day in York Place, between him and Wolsey, that he should ascribe them to a doubt as to the Princess Mary's legitimacy, expressed by the Bishop of Tarbes, the French Ambassador, who had come to England in the spring of this year (1527) to negotiate her marriage with the King of France, or with one of his sons. But there is not the least trace in the French records that the Bishop ever expressed this doubt; and had he done so, he must have referred the subject to his Court, before he signed the marriage treaty on the 20th April 1, 527. Nor did either Henry or Wolsey ever state at Rome that the Bishop had expressed this doubt, though it would have greatly helped their cause there. This falsehood, however, was circulated by them in England, where it could not be contradicted.

Somewhat in the same manner, Mr. Froude has circulated the fiction that Clement VII. was a "shifty old man," only anxious to defer giving sentence in favour of Henry's first marriage in the hope

of keeping England friendly, and of staving off immediate danger to the temporal power.

Nothing is further from the truth than these statements. If there was any temporising in the space of nearly seven years, during which the case for the divorce pursued its weary way, if there was any stratagem or intrigue, the Pope was certainly not to blame. And if there is any one fact more clear than another, it is the fact of Clement's uprightness, justice, and charitable forbearance in the midst of intense provocation. The same could by no means be said of the King's manner of proceeding.

When all attempts to induce Katherine to enter religion, and thus virtually to renounce her marriage, had proved unavailing, Henry was driven to the expedient of seeking a flaw in the Bull of Dispensation granted by Pope Julius. He even went so far as to ask Clement to revoke it; upon which his Holiness, greatly moved, declared that he could not do so without undermining the very foundation of his Chair and the Church. But Henry was determined that there should be but one issue to the cause, and while it was still before the Pope, he, with scant courtesy, had it tried independently by the various universities of England, France, and Italy, paying large sums in the hope of extorting a decision in accordance with his desires. Some few of the smaller universities allowed themselves to be bribed, and pronounced a sentence in his favour, but the most influential of the foreign ones, that of Paris, declared the marriage valid, by a large majority. The Pope, however, protested that universities and individuals, however learned, could not prescribe the law to him, nor define the extent of his authority, and he remarked severely on Henry's manner of attempting to extort decisions from them. The King then presented a petition to Clement, signed by the two archbishops, four of the bishops, a small number of abbots and commoners, and forty-two nobles. But although it was pretended that these names, many of which were obtained by compulsion, represented the feeling of the nation, the most distinguished of all, such as More's, Fisher's, and those of the majority of the bishops, clergy, and gentry, were remarkable by their absence.

All Henry's demands [says Mrs. Hope (page 199)] were supported by the French Ambassador, Cardinal Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, who threatened that his master would join Henry in throwing off the authority of the Church. ("Pocock Records," i., p. 449.) But the Pope always repeated that he would do nothing contrary to law, whether for Henry, the French King, or the Emperor, especially as this question concerned a sacrament of the Church (*ibid.* p. 454), that he would not remove the cause from Rome without the Queen's consent, and that whatsoever either party might do against him, he would commit himself to God, who would be

his helper. (*Ibid. ut sup.* p. 454. Benet to Henry VIII., Oct. 27, 1530.) Or, if sore pressed, he would answer that if the world fell to ruins, he would rather it did so because he did his duty than because he failed to do it. (*Ibid.* p. 457.) So immovable was he, that Benet was obliged to write to the King that nothing could be got from him by persuasion, that threats did not make him afraid, and that he himself was convinced that while, on the one side, the Pope would do nothing except by a regular suit according to law; on the other, he would do for his Majesty everything that was possible according to law. (*Ibid.* p. 458.) This was what the Pope had always professed his intention to do, and it is a striking testimony to his integrity and firmness, that Henry's own ambassador should have arrived at the conviction that such would certainly be his Holiness's course of action.

In the midst of the intrigues and ambition of Francis, the passion of Henry, the half-heartedness of the Emperor, the intoxication of Wolsey's pride and vanity, the Pope presents an affecting and pathetic picture. He alone sees the question in a purely spiritual light, and determines that whatever else happens, law and justice shall proceed from the Holy See.

It is perhaps ungracious to cavil at small defects, where so much pain has been taken to secure accuracy. But we cannot help wishing that Father Gasquet had done a little more, and had placed the book entirely above criticism. Instead of pointing out the errors in chapter xix., which he does in his excellent Introduction, we should have been grateful if he had corrected them in the text, as well as the few other expressions which occur up and down in the volume, resulting from Mrs. Hope's mistaken view of the action taken by Convocation, in the matter of the Supreme Headship.

The mistake is the more serious, because Mr. Froude and other writers of this period of English history have misrepresented that action. They would make it appear as though the bishops and clergy virtually recognised Henry's supremacy, in spiritual matters, when they paid down a sum for their pardon for having recognised Wolsey as Papal legate. The wording of the clause, purposely obscure and entangled, in order to parry the King's demands, and to avoid compromising admissions, misled Mrs. Hope, as it had done others before her. With this one reserve, we have nothing but praise for a book which meets a very decided need, and which throws so much light on a widely-misunderstood subject.

T. M. S.

Aventures de Guerre et d'Amour du Baron de Cormatin.

Par HENRI WELSCHINGER. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1894.

M. WELSCHINGER is here again occupied in his favourite task of endeavouring to reverse some of the verdicts of history. His present hero, a general in the Royalist army in Brittany, has been hardly dealt with by both sides for his conduct of the negotiations with the Republicans. During his subsequent long imprisonment he carried on a tender correspondence with a certain Marquise du Feu-ardent. These adventures of love and war are narrated by M. Welschinger in such a way as to excite little interest. As we have had occasion to remark in noticing his previous works, he is at his best in collecting materials. His mode of presenting the evidence and his decisions do not always call for praise.

L'Abbaye du Mont St. Michel. Par G. DUBOUCHET. Paris: Lethielleux. (3 francs 50 c.)

THIS admirable little book is the first of a series of volumes on Christian art in France. The publishers could not have done better than by beginning with the famous abbey-fortress-prison of Mont St. Michel. Its history dates back to the time of the Druids. Nearly every style of architecture may be found there, and found, too, in most favourable specimens. Of the book itself, we can only say that it is quite worthy of the glorious subject with which it deals. The arrangement is lucid, the style interesting. A map, a large ground-plan, and well-nigh seventy illustrations from the pencil of the author, prove that no pains have been spared. Some of the views are encumbered with scaffolding required for the restorations. We hope that fresh ones will be inserted in future editions when the buildings will have been completed.

The Monastery of the Grand Chartreuse. English Edition, abridged from the French. London: Burns & Oates.

THE dwelling-place of a Carthusian, and the life that he leads there—so different from worldly abodes and worldly careers—have ever been the subject of a laudable curiosity. At the same time, many even well-informed Catholics know hardly anything about the inside of these monasteries. The little book, whose title is given above, can be heartily recommended to all who wish for an interesting account of the mother house of them all. Within a short com-

pass will be found a sketch of the history of the Order, a description of the buildings, past and present, an account of the way in which the Carthusian spends his days and nights, and a summary of the spirit of the Order, together with a convincing justification of its existence. Did not the austerities alarm him, the reader would feel tempted to say to the pious author: "In a little thou persuadest me to become a Carthusian." We must not forget to mention the excellent views of interiors and exteriors of the various buildings. Our only regret is that the absence of any ground-plan makes it difficult to follow some of the descriptions.

Psychologia Rationalis sive Philosophia de Anima Humana in usum scholarum. Auctore BERNARDO BOEDDER, S.J. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder. 1894. 8vo, pp. 344.

TO write a course of Philosophy which is not a mere abridgment of courses already published is, perhaps, a heavier task than a single writer can hope to satisfactorily accomplish. Accordingly, when the Jesuit Fathers of the English Province projected the publication of a course of philosophy, it was a wise step on their part to entrust the writing of the various treatises to a number of writers, each of whom was especially qualified for the subject assigned to him, instead of entrusting the entire series to a single individual. A similarly wise distribution of labour has been observed in a series of philosophical manuals published in Latin by some German Fathers of the Society. The writer of "Psychologia Rationalis," Fr. Boedder, is already favourably known to English readers by his "Natural Theology," which was published amongst the "Catholic Manuals of Philosophy." The reputation which his "Natural Theology" won for him will not be in any way impaired by his "Psychologia Rationalis." His present treatise, like his earlier one, is characterised by German thoroughness, and by far greater clearness than we are accustomed to find in German writers, no matter in what language they may write. It is difficult to single out particular chapters for special commendation where all the chapters are excellent, but we may mention as, perhaps, unusually good the chapters which bear upon the *ratio particularis* and upon the freedom of the will. The *ratio particularis* is treated with greater fulness and distinctness than is customary in scholastic treatises. The freedom of the will is discussed at considerable length, and the objections to the doctrine are in most cases admirably met. We do not think indeed that Fr. Boedder has rightly appre-

hended the mind of St. Thomas with respect to the relation of the last practical judgment to the action of the will. But this is of course a matter of opinion. Fr. Boedder evidently intends to be loyal to the great teacher, and one of the many excellences of his treatise is, that it is throughout heavily charged with quotations from St. Thomas. Our author's treatise completes the series that has been published by the German Jesuits. If the other treatises are of equal value with the "*Psychologia Rationalis*," the series must be one of singular merit.

Epitome Synodorum seu Excerpta Practica ex Decretis Conciliorum Provincialium Westmonasteriensium. Art and Book Company: Londini et Leamingtoniae. 1894.

A VERY useful little booklet is the "*Epitome Synodorum*." With its assistance one can get up readily and have at one's fingers' ends many of the more important practical decrees of the four provincial councils of Westminster. It will not of course take the place of the full and authoritative collection of the decrees, but with the "*Epitome*" as a book to thoroughly master, and the fuller publication at hand for occasional reference, one can obtain an acquaintance at once necessary and sufficient with the legislation of the restored Hierarchy of England.

The Theory of Inference. By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A., Author of "*Principles of Natural and Supernatural Morals*." London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1894. 8vo, pp. 256.

IN the case of physical science the demonstrator can place before the disciple the entire ground which he has himself traversed from starting-point to finish. The principles of the science are facts of sensible experience or intuitions of the mind. The process is one of vigorous demonstration. Thus, step by step, the disciple proceeds with the demonstrator till he reaches the scientific conclusions and sees their truth with his own eyes. Nothing is assumed; nothing is taken on the authority of another. Assent is yielded because it is compelled by evidence. Such being the case, physical science is regarded by many, not only as the queen of the sciences, but also, properly speaking, as the only science worthy of the name. With them science stands for physical science and has no other

significance. What is incapable of rigorous demonstration must be regarded with suspicion; at least unconditional and unqualified assent must be refused to it. It would be folly to yield such an assent to any result of physical investigation which was not established in all the vigour of logic. It must then equally be folly to yield this assent in any other subject matter where assent is not compelled by evidence. It is folly then to accept the doctrines of religious faith, since these are incapable of rigorous demonstration. Those who view things from this standpoint contradict, by so doing, the attitude which they assume in some of the most important relations of life. What man could, *e.g.*, establish in a manner that would satisfy all the requirements of logic the fact that he really is the son of those whom he has always regarded as his parents? As St. Augustine has pointed out, in his treatise "*De utilitate credendi*," if, not content with the moral certainty which excludes every prudent doubt, we require in all things the absolute certainty which constitutes evidence, the bonds of affection and mutual confidence which bind together children and parents, husbands and wives, citizens and fellow-citizens must be snapped asunder. The truth is that with respect to the ordinary affairs of everyday life we are constantly making and acting upon inferences which it would be impossible to rigorously prove. We have in these cases to content ourselves with moral certainty; if we require more, the business of life must come to a standstill. The "*Theory of Inference*" is, indeed, an investigation upon everything relating to logical inference from its foundation upwards, but it is intended primarily as a defence and explanation of the habit of assenting to propositions which are not capable of strict demonstration, and thus, indirectly, at least, the work has a bearing on theology. Mr. Hughes always writes with clearness, great fairness, and moderation, and not infrequently with much force of argument. Some of his criticisms on the system of John Stuart Mill, especially those contained in the chapter on the "*Uniformity of Nature*," are characterised by uncommon acuteness. His work will not, indeed, compare in value with Cardinal Newman's "*Grammar of Assent*," which was written with a similar purpose, but it is nevertheless a very useful addition to the scanty literature of its extremely important subject.

Theologia Dogmatica Generalis. Auctore G. DAVID, Societatis Mariae Presbytero. Lugduni: Ex typis Emmanuelis Vitte. 1893. 8vo, pp. 934.

FATHER DAVID has, we suppose, no intention of superseding, by his work on "General Dogmatic Theology," the much abler and fuller works that have appeared on that subject. He does not inform us in whose especial interest the book was written, nor what precise purpose it was intended to serve. We presume, however, from its character that the book is intended both for priests on the mission who, while unable from their circumstances, to prosecute their studies still further, are, at the same time, desirous of retaining at least some of the theology which they learned at the seminary, and for students in seminaries who, for whatever reason, are condemned to what is popularly known as the "short course." For such the book is eminently suitable, and to them we, with all cordiality, recommend it. The work comprises treatises on the Divinity of the Christian Religion, the Divinity of the Roman Church, the Constitution of the Roman Church, and two very slight treatises on Scripture and Tradition which are stowed away in a sort of appendix. The very summary treatment of such important treatises as Scripture and Tradition is a distinct defect. The author cannot well plead want of space in excuse. He devotes more than fifty pages, or almost as much as he gives to Scripture and Tradition taken together, to proving the divinity of the Roman Church from the excellence of its doctrine and the wonderful effects it has produced. If he had contented himself with ten pages here and added the forty pages thus set free to Scripture and Tradition, he would have shown a greater sense of proportion. But if Fr. David's "Theologia Dogmatica Generalis" is not a work of high excellence, it is, at least, within the limits already mentioned, a very useful book. We cannot place it on our bookshelves next to Hettinger, but if we place it next to Schouppe it will not disgrace its neighbour.

A Retreat, consisting of Thirty-three Discourses with Meditations, for the Use of the Clergy, Religious and Others.
By the Right Rev. JOHN C. HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. xi-427.

BISHOP HEDLEY has laid us all under a debt of gratitude by the publication of his "Retreat." Though the subject-matter is as old as Christianity, and as trite and familiar as a household word, he deals with it in a fresh, vigorous, and original manner, which is well calculated to excite thought and arrest attention.

No retreat can really do its work thoroughly without going over old ground. The end of man; the four last things; the special duties of a Christian life; prayer, the sacraments, and the chief aids or incentives to virtue and holiness, are all of primary importance, and all have been admirably treated by the Bishop.

Still, the chapters are not mere meditations, in the ordinary sense of the word, nor are they simply instructions. They are a combination of the two. Up and down throughout the volume, are words of good advice, useful information, and passing comments, which have little to do with formal meditation, but which find a natural place during the course of a retreat.

At the close of each chapter are "Points for mental prayer." These consist of an epitome of the preceding meditation, so arranged as to enable the reader to think it out more easily in his own mind, something after the system adopted by Père Chaignon, S.J., in his "*Méditations Sacerdotales*."

Bishop Hedley is so well known as a writer, that any description of his style would be superfluous. One of its most characteristic traits is the lavish use of figure, imagery, and illustration, which enliven and attract and please, as well as illustrate. Turn to his chapter on "God":

Words [he writes] which mortal lips must use to shadow forth the majesty of God are deep and pregnant and august. They come *like cool water from the depths of the earth*, out of the hidden places of man's spirit. . . . I rise [he continues] from reading of the wise, and the just, and the noble, and their record is only *the pale moonlight, waxing and waning, of an imperial Sun unseen*. . . . All these great words and thoughts are *like wandering spirits*, which on earth are never pure. . . . It is true we are connected with God—something *like the sunshine in the air is connected with the sun; or, the far off reverberation is connected with the burst of the lightning*.

These examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely.

Let us quote a passage from the chapter on "Prayer:"

Although every kind of prayer is holy and profitable, nevertheless, our progress, and even our salvation, depend in a great measure on our mental prayer. For not only does mental prayer mean an intimate and real converse with God, which vocal prayer, being composed by others, and being for the most part formal and without variation, can probably never bring to us, but our vocal prayer will remain words and nothing more, unless we practise mental prayer. . . . The hour or half-hour of mental prayer is of extreme importance in the life of one who would strive to follow Christ. It is the hour in which the soul lives; that is, lives its true life, and rehearses for that life of eternity, in which prayer, in its highest sense, will be its rapture. . . . No one has a right to be so overwhelmed with work, however excellent such work may be, as to be prevented from taking his hour or half-hour of mental prayer. . . .

In truth, it is a pernicious mistake to suppose that anyone can work for God, while neglecting mental prayer. Our work in itself is of no efficiency whatever. True, we may have certain duties to perform, which it would be wrong to neglect; but our words and acts of themselves, and except so far as God co-operates, are of no more power to move the hearts of men, or build up the kingdom of God, than the strokes of a church-bell.

Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century. By Rev. EDMUND HOGAN, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

NO genuine Irishman will receive this work with other than cordial welcome. Though covering limited ground it affords abundant sidelights into the history of Ireland in the sixteenth century. Hence for the scholar it possesses a special interest. It deals with the lives and times of eighteen members of the famous Society of Jesus at a period of special difficulty for the fortunes of Ireland. Racial troubles—an invariable quantity between the conquerors and the conquered—are intensified by a religious war, and the result is a phase of Irish history at once desperate in its policy, pathetic in its details, and, for Irish national grandeur, fatal in its results. It shows one lesson, an abiding source of hope for all time—that the mechanical forces of strength and strategy are no match for those moral forces which may be beaten but still survive. Nations may still cry out in bondage, “I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall see God.”

The growth and influence of the Jesuits is an historical fact of paramount importance. It indicates the renaissance of ecclesiastical learning in a Catholic sense, and in its noblest aspect. Profound learning and intense piety—in many cases sanctity—will command an almost unbounded sphere of influence. And both baptising the “New Learning” of the sixteenth century were a very bulwark in the hands of the Jesuits against the turbulent spirits of that turbulent time. Throughout the whole domain of learning, sacred sciences, mathematics and natural sciences, philosophy, literature, history, and, thanks to their organisation, scientific spirit, and the temper of the times, they upheld the banner of the faith, and strengthened the Church with the spoils of Egypt at a time when the Church sadly needed defenders. Though comparatively few in number, they seemed to be everywhere. Rapid in movement, prompt in action, keen in perception, in the university, or on the missions, they felt they had a destiny, and they acted up to it. Suppressed, they arose again, driven out of their halls, they poured into country districts,

gave missions, converted noblemen in their castles, and sailors in their bunks.

In 1533 St. Ignatius wrote to Cardinal Pole to ask him to co-operate in the increase of missionaries to England and Ireland, and in 1604 Aquaviva wishes Irishmen to be admitted into the Order :

By all means, let Irishmen be admitted into the Society, as they seem formed for our institute by their humility, obedience, charity and learning, in all which, according to the testimonies which come to us from all quarters, the Irish very much excel.

The result was that in the first century of the Society, there was a large influx of Irish blood into the veins of the new Order. Father Hogan, S.J., gives us in the above volume the lives of some eighteen distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century, who were members of the Society of Jesus. Readers of the *Month* will have read them before. Being brought together, they form an interesting volume of the quarterly series. Vivid sidelights are thrown on the hapless times in which the lives of these heroic Irishmen were thrown. Study abroad, and always with success, then home in disguise, with death staring them in the face, working across like common sailors, or dressed up as merchants, they landed in Waterford or Youghal, tracked by spies, and with a sentence of death upon them, they die on the mountain among a faithful people, or in the home of a Catholic nobleman, or in exile, or on the gallows. Not only were they persecuted by the common enemy, but in their own ranks troubles arose. Some of the Jesuits were what Father Hogan calls "gentlemen of the Pale," such as Father De La Field, and Father Fitzsimon, "who was a gentleman of the Pale, of known loyalty to the Crown." We, at the present day, would call them "West Britons." Their views on the merits of the case between the Irish princes and Elizabeth, even when the Pope was helping the former, could not be expected to be any but the Napoleonic, *i.e.*, the Almighty is generally on the winning side. As a result that chivalrous character, Brother Dominic Collins, S.J., is reported to Aquaviva by De La Field to be taken prisoner among the rebels in arms, when he was cooped up in Dunboy. The Anti-Irish sentiments of Father De La Field as a gentleman of the Pale were, says Father Hogan,

perhaps very proper, and then he proceeds to vindicate Brother Dominic Collins, which he does with success. But then the position is delicate. If De La Field is right in his sentiments about the merits of the case between Elizabeth and the Irish, then Brother Dominic Collins is a rebel ; if, as Father Hogan well establishes, though we are not in love with the refinements of the argument, Brother Dominic is a real and genuine martyr, what becomes of Father De La Field's "sympathies

which were naturally, and perhaps very properly, on the English side" (p. 99).

Or again, take the case of Father James Archer, the "Unionist." Jesuits around Dublin, Father Holywood and De La Field, who were his superiors, have complaints about him, but no complaints that reflect on his honour "as a man, an Irishman, a religious, or a priest" (p. 314). Fitzsimon, another Unionist, complains that he is "too partial to the college in Salamanca," and the result of all is that he is sent abroad from Ireland. He wrote an appeal to Aquaviva: "I trust your Paternity will judge me in all charity, and will not condemn me on the report of those who know nothing of myself or my actions" (p. 314). He felt by this time that he was paying a penalty for not being "a gentleman of the Pale." And he could have sung a sixteenth-century edition of a modern melody:

Unprized are her sons till they learn to betray;
 Undistinguished they live if they shame not their sires,
 And the torch that would light them thro' dignity's way
 Must be caught from the pile where their country expires.

The fact is ecclesiastical authority in the Order was biassed against national sentiment, and was the source of keen pain. And Archer suffered for "having his sympathies" with the Irish side since such was natural and proper, as he was an Irish gentleman from Kilkenny, and still honoured there, and therefore "not a gentleman of the Pale." This impression is the only drawback in Father Hogan's book. It will leave one damper on the mind of the reader, that the sympathies of the Jesuit administration coming from the Pale were against Ireland. But wherever the personal honour, the learning, the virtues, and the fortitude of a single Jesuit mentioned among these eighteen is concerned, Father Hogan, wisely, well and patiently unfolds the case, which redounds to the greater glory of religion, the greater honour of Ireland, and the clearer setting forth of the truth.

J. T.

Pouillé du Diocèse de Bordeaux au XVIII^e Siècle—dressé d'après les documents inédits des archives de l'archevêché. Par M. le Chanoine E. ALLAIN, archiviste diocésain. Bordeaux. 1893. 4to, pp. 27.

THE tables in this valuable abstract of the diocesan archives show at a glance the state of the Church in the archdiocese of Bordeaux at three periods during the eighteenth century. They afford full information concerning the administration and financial condition of all the parishes and religious establishments existing within

the boundary of the See. These returns, having been made for the purpose of taxation, were rigidly controlled by various officials through whose hands they passed, and, therefore, may be relied on as accurate. Particulars of the revenue and taxes are given of the six secular Chapters, with the officers composing them, and the collators to these titles; of the Archbishop; of 11 abbeys and 25 monastic houses for men, exclusive of the Mendicant orders, with dates of their foundation, number of inmates, and name of the order to which each respectively belonged; of 15 convents for women with like information; of the three seminaries (the Irish seminary, founded in 1603, had 24 inmates and a revenue of 2351 *livres* in 1766); of 60 priories; of 390 parishes and 35 chapels of ease, with the names of the titular saint and the patron, the population and number of communicants in 1772; besides summaries of 99 chaplainships, beneficiary societies, &c. The archbishop presented to 236 parishes, and various monastic houses were the patrons of the remainder. On turning to the calendar of the diocese for 1892, we find that all the old religious orders for men are non-existent, and in their place are the Christian Brothers and two other orders engaged in education. It is impossible to compare the other statistics with the present state of the diocese, owing to the changes effected by the Concordat of 1801, which considerably enlarged the extent of its area, but the revenues of the 663 livings at present "recognised by the Government" fall considerably below the figures given in these returns, and many a parish priest is now "passing rich on forty pounds a year," or even less.

It will be perceived how precious is the information supplied by this census, and how interesting similar returns of the Catholic Church in England, taken on the eve of the Reformation and at later dates, would prove, if set forth in a manner as lucid as this work of Canon Allain's.

R. T.

Records relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. By the Very Rev. JOHN CANON MONAHAN, V.G. Dublin: Gill & Son.

DR. MONAHAN calls his volume, "Records," *i.e.*, the materials out of which history grows. Records the documents are, but of varying worth—from the Papal brief excerpted from Theiner, down to the ephemeral congratulatory letter of a friend on the filling up of a bishopric. The author placed before himself an important object—

to collect and publish a fairly readable record of the names of the Prelates that succeeded SS. Mel and Kieran in the government of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise down to the present time: to accentuate the chief ecclesiastical events occurring within the limits of these Dioceses during their Episcopate, and to touch remarkable historic facts that took place outside the boundaries of their Sees, but with which they had notable connection. (Preface, p. viii.)

The learned compiler has amassed a considerable quantity of historic matter which, if carefully put in order, would furnish us with a valuable work. But the work is considerably marred by the want of structure in the book. Bookmaking is an art—the subject-matter must be arranged on some tolerable principle, and some sequence of events in chronological order must be indicated. The author, however, has thrown together with an obviously loose hand his multifarious items in a perplexing way. For instance, we have five pages on St. Mel, the founder of the See of Ardagh—a topic that takes us back to St. Patrick—and then, under a new heading, we have two pages on the New Cathedral of St. Mel, Longford, which is just leaving the hands of the painters at the present moment; and all this before you reach page 9. Then, at page 8, he deals with the Boundaries of Ardagh Diocese, and on the second page of this heading he pours forth, without any change of pen, the Episcopal succession (under the heading of Boundaries) down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, where he crosses Bishop O'Farrell. He turns away on the new trail, lets the succession drop, and pursues the O'Farrell sept—the Princes of Anally, their family seats, their various branches, and martyrs, and military men of fame. A descent from Milesius himself with a crossing by Queen Mab, is something that no respectable Celt need be ashamed of; and so the author gives us the full O'Farrell glory spread over his pages. A few more pages—a few Papal documents—the decrees of the Provincial Synod of Armagh, given because Cornelius Gaffney of Ardagh was secretary to the Synod—bring us down to 1729, when Ardagh and Clonmacnoise were united, and thus we find ourselves working up Clonmacnoise along the stream of history in nearly the same style, with abrupt transitions, and a fine contempt for order. The author fairly revels in his matter. All things come fair to his net—bishops and priests abroad who came from Ardagh Diocese; an Examination *in extenso* before the Education Enquiry in 1827; congratulatory letters, many of them tokens of friendship, but not grave documents; Roman negotiations, Pastorals; appeals for subscriptions, funeral orations, several pages on Positivism, and Cardinal Cullen's views on having an English Ambassador in Rome to transact Irish ecclesiastical business. When all is said and done, it is a volume compiled on

quite independent principles, and has several good features, one being that educated readers of various tastes will find something in their line in the miscellany, but when and where (another favourable point) they must read the book to discover.

J. T.

Saint Antoine de Padoue. Par le R. P. LÉOPOLD de Chéraneé, O.M.C. Paris: Libraire Ch. Poussielgue. 1894.

DON FERNANDO DE BOUILLON, better known as St. Anthony of Padua, and a direct descendant of the great Christian leader in the First Crusade, was born at Lisbon in 1195. His *Life*, the latest publication of the *Bibliothèque Franciscaine*, is written by one who has already contributed other volumes to the series, and is a scholarly and edifying account of one of the most famous preachers and wonder-workers of the Middle Ages. St. Anthony was barely thirty-seven when he died, and he was canonised within a year of his death; his mother, if not his father, was alive to see the joyful day, and the bells of his native Lisbon rang of themselves a joyous peal whilst the ceremony was proceeding at Spoleto.

The basis of this new *Life* is an almost contemporary chronicle, unknown to the Bollandists, and only recently discovered in the Capuchin Convent at Lucerne; composed by order of the Franciscan General shortly after the Saint's death, this actual MS. dates from the early part of the fourteenth century. In some details it differs from the later lives of the Saint, but has especial authority as being itself based upon the process of his canonisation. To English readers it is further interesting from the fact of its author being identified as John Peckham, a Sussex friar, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Our author gives an interesting account of a wonderful revival of devotion to St. Anthony, of which Toulon seems to be the centre. Perhaps it was under the influence of the recent visit of the Russian fleet to that port that he penned the following outburst of patriotism:

There dwells in the heart of the universe a nation which in the modern world holds the place filled in ancient times by the people of Israel; a nation towards which God Himself shows a predilection for which He renders no man an account; a nation which, contemplating itself in the two seas of which it holds the sceptre, slumbers confidently each night beneath the shelter of its mountains, and draws not its sword save to defend an Idea. It is the nation of St. Clotilda, of Clovis, of Charlemagne; it is the eldest daughter of the Church; *c'est la France!* (p. 46).

J. I. C.

Hibernica Minora, a Fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter. Edited by KUNO MEYER. The Clarendon Press. 1894.

THIS is another volume in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series that must render Celtic students further indebted to the industry and scholarship of Professor Kuno Meyer. The main purpose of the book is concerned with the publication of a fragment of an Old-Irish commentary on the 1st Psalm from the Bodleian codex, Rawlinson B. 512, with accession of a hardly secondary object in a generous Appendix of diverse matters in prose and poetry excerpted from the same source. An examination of the copious measure of samples thus furnished creates so favourable an impression of the valuable nature of the contents of this MS. as to make evident that it must be appreciated as ranking only just after the later class of our Great Books, and that it deserves regard as affording some precious supplementary material with promise of additional reference ordinates for the solution of certain long-standing verbal and textual puzzles, and, therefore, that it ought to be brought within the reach of scholars as soon as possible by some process of photographic reproduction. Prof. Meyer treats the exegetical fragment exhaustively. After a descriptive introduction he prints his text in *fac-simile*. A critical recension, with translation, follows, based on the *facsimile* version, with restored spelling, emendations of clerical errors, and incorporation of the variant material supplied by another source. Thereafter comes an identification of references and a copious Irish-Latin glossary. A mere fragment (474 lines only), the introduction to a goodly work, it is diffuse in context and of mainly linguistic interest. It is conjectured that it is an instance of survival from the literary cataclysm of the period of Norse depredation.

The appendix, comprising some historical, some semi-mythological matter from the northern cycle of tales, some hagiology, some ecclesiology, besides other things, is very curious. Of these, the most noteworthy are the example of "Kennings" in verse, the piece entitled *Erchoitmed Ingine Gulidi*—i.e. "The Excuse of Gulide's Daughter," "The Story of Mac Dathó's Pig and Hound," and a remarkable invocatory litany addressed to the Godhead and to the Trinity under titles springing from the most sublime conception of Divine attributes. Except in the case of one or two short extracts the Appendix is also furnished with a translation throughout. A couple of examples of oversight: p. 71, 1, *ar bátar oca ind fír*, should be rendered, "for the men were beside it"; p. 41, *Gabail ic fannaib*, means, not "standing by the weak," but "indulging, forgiving the weak." Also the editor's opinions might be disputed in a few matters

of trifling detail. Altogether, while the printing and mounting of the book are worthy of the prestige enjoyed by the Clarendon Press, its critical value is what we should expect from an editor of such special experience and equipment as Professor Meyer.

R. H.

The Coming of Cuculain. By STANDISH O'GRADY. London: Methuen. 1894.

MR. O'GRADY'S works, like the great cycles of Gaelic literature, may be divided into three parts. This *divisio triplex* is of unquestionable antiquity. There is a Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. *Omnis Gallia divisa est in partes tres*, says Cæsar. "Omne trinum perfectum" comes from the schools. And so Mr. O'Grady's works are threefold: historical, historico-romantic, and legendary. Of his historical style and value we formerly gave our views of his "Storm of Ireland," a book against which we warned the young men of Ireland and against which we hesitate not to warn them again. His historico-romantic style—what is commonly known as the historical novel—is seen in "The Captivity of Red Hugh"—a book not quite so indiscreet as the above "story" but indiscreet enough. We can speak more highly of his legendary tales than we can of any other. From which it doth appear that Mr. O'Grady's success as a writer varies in direct ratio to the distance he keeps from all historical matter. The "Coming of Cuculain" is a romance of the heroic age of Ireland, and you have not advanced far before you discover that when Mr. O'Grady finds a heroic topic he wields his pen in heroic style. Battles, encounters, banquets, goblets, spears, Druids, enchantments, forays, shields clanging in battle, and forests and hills trembling at the sight, and all in a wild strain of Ossianic rhetoric, à la McPherson (which really suits the gigantic events of the ancient heroes), are the embellishments of the short tale of the boyhood of Cuculain. The latter was obviously a champion, and some of his fights are entertaining reading; while in Deidrè—ancient Celtic Jephtha—there is a very refined embodiment of a noble idea. Of course we purposely abstain from indicating anything further about Cuculain, as we prefer our readers to encourage Mr. O'Grady to continue his labours in embodying some more of the great heroic legends of Firbolgian and Femorian times, by turning to the book itself.

J. T.

Dictionnaire de la Bible. Publié par F. VIGOUROUX. Fascicule VI. Beck—Bigamie. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, Editeurs.

WE gladly welcome the appearance of the sixth *fascicule* of the Abbé Vigouroux's "Dictionnaire de la Bible." The learned abbé's name is a sufficient guarantee that the work is conducted on strictly orthodox lines, and that it contains all that can be said in defence of traditionary views. Perhaps it is hardly necessary for us to remind our readers that the new *Dictionnaire* meets a decided want. Science advances apace now-a-days, and no sciences have progressed more rapidly than archæology and Biblical criticism, owing, to a large extent, to the momentous discoveries which have been made among the ruins of the ancient cities of the East, and the consequent light that has been thrown upon the history of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and other countries brought in contact with the Israelites in ancient days. The result has been that we now know a vast deal more of the history of Israel than was known a century ago; and accordingly much of our Jewish history wants re-writing and filling in, whilst our Bible Dictionaries, written some years ago, want bringing up to date. The new *Dictionnaire* undertakes to treat all subjects relating to the Old Testament in the light of the most recent modern discoveries, and to answer all the latest objections of critics against the sacred books. There are no very exhaustive articles in the present number, which, however, contains interesting notices of *Les Travaux des Bénédictins sur les Saintes Ecritures*, *Bethel*, *Bethsaida*, &c. No Catholic Biblical library will be complete without a copy of this able work.

A. H.

The Sacred Scriptures; or, The Written Word of God. By W. HUMPHREY, S.J. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894.

THE work of Father Humphrey, which we have before us, is not altogether new. It appeared before, in 1877, under the title of "The Written Word; or, Considerations on the Sacred Scriptures," and is now given to the public in an altered form, and under a new name, so as to render it more likely to meet the needs of the day. Father Humphrey's book is written in his usual lucid and readable style, and contains the more general teaching of theologians respecting the inspiration of Sacred Scripture, and the place it holds in regard to the divinely instituted means for the preservation and propagation of Christian doctrine and discipline. There are also chapters dealing with tradition, and certain criteria of divinity of

doctrine—viz., the consent of the faithful, the testimony of the Fathers, and the teaching of the schools. It is hardly necessary for us to enter into detail as to the subject-matter of these chapters, which set forth in a luminous way what Catholics in general hold on these points. We may say, however, that of late years there has been a tendency in many quarters to adopt a broader view in reference to Inspiration than would perhaps be consistent with the teaching of Father Humphrey.

We read with much interest the chapter dealing with the Latin Vulgate; but though it seems to us a very fair treatment of the case, there is just one point with which we do not find ourselves in agreement:

We do, however, maintain [writes Father Humphrey (p. 251)] that no dogmatic text is to be found in the Latin Vulgate which was not also contained in the original Scriptures. It cannot be that the Holy Ghost should permit an edition to be proposed as authentic which contains a spurious text. A spurious text would thereby be set before the faithful as sacred and canonical scripture, or, in other words, as divinely inspired. The written word of man would in that case be declared to be the Written Word of God.

Such teaching would seem to go beyond the necessities of the case. Take such a text as that of the three heavenly witnesses. Are we bound to hold the authenticity of that verse? Certainly such an orthodox theologian as the Jesuit Father Cornely leaves its genuineness an open question; and it seems to me that Catholics are free to follow the weight of evidence on the matter. In any case, Father Humphrey's argument in the passage quoted above, would apply to any text in the Bible as well as to strictly dogmatic ones.

We must not conclude our notice without thanking the learned author for the publication of what is likely to prove a thoroughly serviceable work. We heartily recommend it to all Catholic readers who are anxious to learn what theologians have to say on the subject of Holy Scripture.

J. A. H.

Introduction to the New Testament. I.—St. Paul's Epistles.

GODET. Translated from the French by W. AFFLECK, B.D.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

M. GODET is an accomplished Biblical scholar, and everything he writes on the New Testament deserves careful consideration. The present work is, as he tells us himself, "the fruit of the teaching of forty years, during which each alternate year has always been devoted to the particular Introduction to the New Testament, the other to the general Introduction." We may take it that this

last work of his, to be followed, if he is spared, by two other volumes, one on the Gospels and the Acts, the other on the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, resumes the teaching of his life, developed, matured, and modified by time and constant study and reflection.

The present volume is therefore a valuable addition to our Biblical libraries. Still, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that it is wanting in much of the life and interest which had such a charm in the earlier studies of M. Godet. Perhaps this is inseparable from the character of the work. For a very large proportion of the volume before us is devoted to an exposition of the contents of the Epistles, more or less of a theological character; and there is naturally much in these pages which is dry and uninteresting, and, we may add, with which we are far from being in harmony.

M. Godet is a staunch supporter of the authenticity of thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles; and he defends with much ability the Pauline authorship of the three Pastoral Epistles. It is refreshing in these days of doubt and destructive criticism, to meet with a man of M. Godet's undoubted scholarship and independence coming forward in defence of the genuineness of the New Testament writings, and we hope he may be spared to bring to completion the other volumes of his *Introduction to the New Testament*.

The Epistle to the Hebrews does not find a place in the present volume. That was to be expected; for we know from M. Godet's *Studies on the Epistles* (chap. xi.) that he does not believe it to have emanated from St. Paul. "To us it seems certain," he says in one place (p. 338), "that the admirable epistle we have been studying is not from the pen of Paul." He does not venture to decide between the conflicting claims of Barnabas, Apollos, Aquila, Clement and Silas, but seems rather to favour the authorship of Silas.

M. Godet divides the thirteen Epistles of Paul, of which he treats, into four groups. The first (of the year 53) comprises the two to the Thessalonians. The second (of 54-59) embraces the Epistle to the Galatians, the two to the Corinthians, and that to the Romans. In the third group (62-64) come the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, to the Ephesians, and to the Philippians; and in the fourth (64-66), the three Pastoral Epistles.

M. Godet's work opens with a discussion of the critical work accomplished regarding the New Testament from the first century to the present day, and then sets before the reader a carefully-written life of St. Paul. This part of the volume is full of interest, and though we are not prepared to endorse all that is said in it, we may say that it will prove most instructive to the Biblical student.

J. A. H.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789-1815. By J. H. ROSE. Cambridge University Press. 1894. (4s. 6d.)

THE aim of the author of this excellent manual is not simply to add another to the many already existing works on the French Revolution, but rather to give some account of the *European* Revolution in which France played a part, and indeed the leading part. Hitherto it has been the custom, at least among English and French writers, to look at the Great Revolution from the point of view of England or France alone. The result has been that all the blame and all the credit for what was done have been assigned to one or the other of these nations, according to the prejudice of the writers. This attempt to isolate a country from its environment—to study it apart from the other forces with which it is compounded—can only lead to error. Anyone who wishes to have a thorough grasp of the great revolutionary era must examine the state of Europe as a whole, and must note the action of the smaller as well as of the greater Powers. Then he may hope to understand why the upheaval first took place in France; why the attempts of the other Governments failed to crush it; why the counter-attacks of the French revolutionaries met with such stupendous success; why these in turn were ultimately beaten back; and lastly, how much the Revolution has destroyed and what it has built up. Nothing but approval therefore can be given to the scope and purpose which Mr. Rose has in view. If we turn to the way in which he has carried out his design he must also be pronounced as worthy of high praise, though of course in dealing with so vast a subject and one so exposed to party and national prejudice he cannot hope to be entirely free from defect. The recent deluge of publications bearing on the period which he has chosen has enabled him to keep clear of many of the mistakes committed by his predecessors. He has made a special study of the influence of English commerce; and hence, while careful to avoid overriding his hobby, he has been able to account for “the trend of events” (a favourite expression of his) at various stages of the prolonged wars. English policy appears in his pages as a mixture of greatness and pettiness, of selfishness and self-denial, of wasteful folly and economic wisdom. He points out with great clearness and force that England’s monopoly of the sea and the tyrannous use which she made of it forced Napoleon into his Continental system and drove him to that Russian campaign which proved his ruin. The tangle of diplomacy which presents so much confusion and difficulty to writers who do not take a European view of the situation, is unravelled by Mr. Rose with a sure and skilful hand. A short manual affords little scope for any description

of the mighty contests which are, it must be acknowledged, the objects of the most absorbing interest in the study of this period; yet he contrives by a few clear and vigorous strokes to give us a more distinct and vivid notion than many elaborate accounts. The Waterloo campaign may be instanced as an excellent example of his method and style. As to the colossal figure who towers above all his contemporaries and is finally pulled down only by a combination of them all, Mr. Rose is not quite so successful. Napoleon, according to him, is the child of his age rather than its ruler. But why not both? In no other time could he have done his work, nor could that work have been done by any other man. He did not raise the tempest; yet he was not merely borne along by it. Rather is he like the spirit who

Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

A word or two about the book itself. The maps are excellent, but why are they confined to central Europe? A map of Europe as a whole, and maps of the Peninsula and Russia should be added. Plans of the great campaigns and battles would take up little room, nay, they would be a saving of space because less letterpress would be needed. The plan of the Waterloo campaign (the only one given) gives us clearer notions than pages of description. One slight omission should be noted. Grouchy, the last (and the least) of the marshals, is not mentioned in the list of those officers.

T. B. S.

Venice. By ALETHEA WIEL. Story of the Nations Series.
London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. xxxiii.—478.

THE story of beautiful Venice—of that “Most Serene Republic” which grew out of a city founded by fugitives—forms a welcome addition to this series of historical sketches of the nations that have won for themselves a place in the world’s history. There is a splendour that captivates the understanding about all that appertains to this wonderful city—its situation, its aspect, its development, and even its decadence. The charm of mystery that hangs over its origin in the dim past is followed up and intensified by the bright pattern of civic patriotism set by its citizens, and by the dogged determination which rescued its unstable banks from the ravages of sea and tempest, and made them strong enough to contain the foundations of those noble buildings, glittering churches, and long ranges of palaces, that are still numbered among the triumphs of man’s skill. It is truly wonderful to see how those

early fugitives, flying before their enemies on the mainland, raised their city amid the shifting of the waters, and by their energy and enterprise magnified that city into a state in whose countless argosies were borne the produce and the commerce of the mediæval world. Then, too, there is the marvel of the city's unique situation, the strange rising of her structures, as at the wave of an enchanter's wand, out of an expanse of waters that lay around in leagues of rippling lustre, with the white sea-birds wheeling over head. Her people were the citizens of no mean city; they raised themselves veritably into "most potent, grave, and reverend signiors," whose words were powerful in the counsels of nations; whose flag was known on every sea, and who even claimed the restless ocean as their obedient bride. Nor is it surprising, in view of all these material claims to our attention, that Venice should have been able to impose upon us the additional claim of her superiority in the arts. For generations she was the home and the patron of art. It was the pride of her citizens to build solidly and splendidly, and to cherish and exalt the genius of the mighty men of the pen and brush that claimed her as their mother.

Venice, too, many as are her recommendations in the eyes of the world at large, should have special attractions for us Englishmen. She was what we now are—the great carrier of sea-borne commerce, and therefore necessarily a foremost maritime power. If we rule the waves, she wedded them. And not that only; she is everlastingly enshrined in some of the highest productions of our own native literature. As Byron finely says:

Unto us she hath a spell beyond
Her name in story, and her long array
Of mighty shadows, whose dim forms despond
Above the dogeless city's vanished sway;
Ours is a trophy which will not decay
With the Rialto; Shylock and the Moor,
And Pierre, cannot be swept or worn away—
The keystones of the arch! though all were o'er,
For us repeopled were the solitary shore.

The present volume, therefore, comes pleasantly to hand. The authoress has the qualifications of having written previous works upon the history of Venice, and of that acquaintance with the city which can only be obtained by lengthened sojourn in it. She makes no pretension to original research, but endeavours, and, we think, with success, to tell the story of Venice, plainly, clearly, and soberly. We say soberly, and would emphasise the word; for it must be confessed that she does not seem to have been very heartily inspired by her subject. The language certainly lacks the animation, the

warmth, and the colour which, in a popular sketch, we consider the public may with reason expect, and which, we should have thought, her theme would have enkindled. In this respect we fear that the work will disappoint. For some reason or other, and seemingly of set purpose and design, the authoress adheres rigidly—too rigidly, we think—to the mere political history of the city and its republic. We are told next to nothing about the artists and authors of her palmy days, whose names will live when the sea-girt walls are worn away before wind and wave. They are dismissed in a short chapter, whilst nearly as much space is allowed for the intricacies of a political dispute with Rome. We are given no pictures of Venice as she varied from age to age. Such pictures would have afforded rest and enlightenment between the stages of the narrative. Who would not have been grateful for a sketch of the characteristics of Venice as she changed through the ages, under Orseolo, Dandolo, Titian, Sarpi, and the cloud of great names upon her roll of honour?

We cannot say that the authoress has chosen the “better part,” but we are still free and happy to acknowledge that what she has undertaken she has performed honestly and well.

The story of the connection between Venice and her patron, St. Mark, is one of no little interest, and meets with adequate treatment. The legend ran that St. Mark, forced to take refuge from the fury of a storm on one of the islands of the lagunes, was told in a vision that his bones should one day find, there, rest and veneration. This inspired the Venetians with a desire to obtain his relics, and the manner in which they accomplished it merits admiration for its ingenuity. Two Venetian merchants, trafficking at Alexandria, by liberal bribes, obtained possession of the relics of the saint from the guardians of the Church of St. Mark in that city. Then, to evade the vigilance of the Custom House, they craftily hid the body at the bottom of a basket, which they filled up with pork. The Moslems, of course, turned away in disgust from examining the defiling parcel of swine’s flesh, and the sacred treasure of relics was safely transferred to Venice, where it arrived on January 31st, 828.

The work is also fitted with a table of contents and copious index, together with a list of the Doges. It is clearly if not elegantly printed. Many maps and illustrations are given, copies of old prints, &c., but their manner of reproduction should not pass without criticism in these days when excellent and artistic processes are so cheap and so widely attainable.

J. B. M.

Hebrew Syntax. By Rev. W. B. DAVIDSON, LL.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street.

BY publishing this syntax, which, as the preface informs us, partly contains the lectures which for some time had been dictated, Dr. Davidson has rendered a great and valuable service to students of Hebrew. We therefore heartily welcome this syntax as a practical, useful, and scholarly-written book. No doubt the work of compiling a Hebrew syntax was to a great extent already prepared by scholars such as Ewald, Gesenius, and Driver. Dr. Davidson's syntax, however, presents this twofold advantage, that it adds to the results already obtained the fruits of the professor's own study and well-known scholarship, and that it surpasses all previous Hebrew grammars by the clear, methodical, and not too elaborate manner in which its matter is arranged, so that the principles and rules laid down in it can easily be understood and remembered.

Until the beginning of this century, the study of Hebrew syntax was much neglected. Students of Hebrew too often contented themselves with having acquired the rudiments of Hebrew grammar. To be able to translate, it was thought sufficient to know the conjugation of the regular and irregular verb, the rules for the formation of the plural and *status constructus*, the pronouns, and a few other essential points of the same kind. As regards the use and value of the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid not much more was known than that the former tense denotes the past and the other the future, while through the *waw conversive* the one is frequently changed into the other. The consequence of this defective knowledge of Hebrew syntax was that several verses were wrongly translated,

Owing, however, to the continued labour of the scholars whose names we have mentioned and of others, the knowledge of Hebrew syntax has been greatly improved. Restricting ourselves, for want of space, to that section of syntax which contains the rules for the use of the tenses, we should like just to point out a few instances which mark considerable progress. As we have already indicated, the theory concerning the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid, formerly held, was that they denote past and future. Since this principle is wrong, no sound rules of minor detail could be derived from it.

Through careful observation of the various combinations in which the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid are found, scholars came to the conclusion that the former tense denotes an action as completed (*actio perfecta*), the latter, on the contrary, as incomplete and hence as

still continuing (*actio imperfecta*); and that both are independent of past and future.

On this principle, as on a secure basis, a system of rules regulating in detail the use of the tenses '*Abar*' and '*Athid*', could be built with comparative certainty. Of these rules we wish to mention two or three which may serve as examples, and at the same time show how important they are for correctly translating.

The *Simple Perfect* (the *actio perf.* without *waw conversive*), for instance, is often used where we would use a pluperfect, (*a*) in dependent (relative and conjunctive) clauses, to denote that one of two actions was completed before the other. Gen. ii. 8: "Wherein He placed the man whom He *had* made." (*b*) In sentences containing a circumstance, anterior to the stage at which a narrative has arrived, in which case the subject is placed before the verb. Gen. xxxi. 33, 34: "And Laban entered Rachel's tent. But Rachel *had* taken (Vulgate *abscondit*) the theraphim, and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them." Rachel's hiding the theraphim *had* taken place before Laban entered her tent.

The *Simple Imperfect* (the *actio imperfecta* without *waw conversive*) has often a frequentative sense, to express actions of general occurrence. (*a*) In proverbial sayings, in comparisons, in the expression of social and other customs. Gen. x. 9: "Therefore it *is said*, as Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord." (*b*) Of actions customary or general in the past. Gen. ii. 6: "And a mist *used* to go up (the Douai version 'rose out') from the earth and water all the surface of the ground." Ex. xxxiii. 7: "And Moses *used* to take the tent and pitch it without the camp." (Douai version: "And Moses taking the tabernacle pitched it without the camp.")

In like manner the *Perfect* with *waw conversive* often signifies that actions were customary or habitual. I. Samuel ii. 19, 20: "And Samuel was ministering before the Lord, being a child girded with a linen ephod. And a little robe his mother *used* to make for him, and bring it up to him every year." I. Samuel i. 4-7: "And it happened one day that Elcana offered—now he *used* to give portions to Phenenna his wife and to her sons and daughters, but to Anna he *used* to give only one portion because she had no child. Howbeit he loved Anna, although the Lord had shut her womb. But her fellow wife *used* to vex her bitterly, in order to make her angry, because the Lord had shut her womb. And thus she *used* to act and to provoke her every year when they went up to the house of the Lord, and thus she *used* to vex her—and Anna wept and did not eat."

The *Imperfect* with *waw conversive* is like an historic tense, used in narratives, and denotes a logical or chronological sequence of

events and ideas. We may not, therefore, translate Gen. ii. 7 "And the Lord God *had* planted a paradise" (Vulgate *plantaverat*), but we must translate: "And the Lord God planted a paradise." On the same principle verse Gen. ii. 19 may not be translated as a pluperfect as some commentators wish to do, because in the first chapter the creation of animals precedes that of man, but it should be rendered: "And the Lord God *formed* out of the ground all the beasts of the field and all the fowls of the air and brought them to Adam."

C. v. d. B.

The One Mediator ; or, Sacrifice and Sacraments. By WILLIAM HUMPHREY, S.J. Second edition, revised and enlarged. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1894.

WE are glad to see that a second edition of Fr. Humphrey's admirable work on Sacrifice and the Sacraments has been called for. We cannot have too many of such treatises on matters theological and devotional in our language. The present edition has been subjected to very careful revision. Slight inaccuracies have been corrected, and a not inconsiderable amount of matter has been added. We have, compressed into 356 pages, a great deal of doctrine concerning the Incarnate Word set forth in clear and simple—and at times—in eloquent language. Fr. Humphrey begins by exhibiting the God-Man as *morally* present in His Priests who personate Him, and as *physically* present in that which they offer. He goes on to treat of the mediatorial ministry of Christ by means of the Sacrament, and explains the sacramental system in detail. Next comes a chapter on the position of those who are living on earth outside the visible unity of the Catholic Church. This chapter is written with great accuracy and clearness. Reverting to the Incarnate Word, Fr. Humphrey treats of the "Created Holiness" and "Human Knowledge" of Christ, and explains at some length the "two lists or touchstones" (devotion to our Lady and the Sacred Heart) of true belief in the doctrines of the Incarnation. Finally, we have a chapter on "The Indwelling of the Holy Ghost," in which Fr. Humphrey very wisely sets forth the view that the sanctification of the soul is, in reality, common to the three Divine Persons, but is *appropriated* to the Holy Spirit on account of a *relation of analogy*. In respect of this point of teaching, he sides with our greatest and soundest theological thinkers, and keeps clear of fanciful theories, which are sure to rebound in a mischievous manner in the long run.

There are a few points in respect of which we differ from Fr. Humphrey. Surely there are other acts, besides the sacrificial act,

through which we acknowledge God's supreme dominion over us. Prayer may, and often does, involve that adoration which is due to God alone. So oaths and vows, &c., imply a recognition of the Supreme Being. Sacrifice has been offered *de facto* to *false gods*, as Fr. Humphrey says. Practically, there seems to be comparatively little use in insisting upon sacrifice as involving the *only* distinctive mark of Divine religion. We think Fr. Humphrey would have done better if he had taken a broader basis. "Sacrifice," he says (p. 2), "is as distinct from all other acts of worship or of religion as the Creator is from any one and from all of His creatures." We cannot quite follow him in this assertion.

Again (p. 27) he says: "Hence the price and dignity of this Sacrifice [the Mass] is absolutely of an *infinite value*." Of course the Sacrifice of the Mass, like that of Calvary, is of infinite value, but we are of opinion that all theologians would not agree as to its being absolutely so. The *cause* of the satisfaction of Christ was His *individual human nature*, which is *physically* finite; whether the satisfaction was infinite on account of the *hypostatic union*, or through the acceptance of God, is an open question in the schools.

These, however, are minor matters, and we have great pleasure in recommending Fr. Humphrey's work as being full of sound theological instruction. The last chapter, "The Beatific Vision of God," is clear, terse, and faultlessly accurate. F. D.

Lord Johan Fyssher: a Historical, Genealogical and Heraldic Research. By R. VON FISCHER-TREUENFELD. London: 1894.

"NO science," writes the author of this pamphlet, "lies under the reproach of a more reckless use of *licentia poetica* than genealogical heraldry!" Those who may care to examine for themselves this "Genealogical and Heraldic Research" will, we expect, consider the judgment amply justified. The object of the writer is to attach the Blessed John Fisher to a German family of the same name. He confesses, indeed (p. 35), that "a direct proof" that an ancestor of the martyred Cardinal of Rochester did come from Germany in the fifteenth century "has not yet been furnished," but the assumption that one Jobst Hartmann Fischer, one of the six sons of Georg Fischer, who emigrated to England about 1430—or rather who is said to have done so—was really the grandfather of the Cardinal, runs through the pamphlet. Thus (p. 32) the author says that "the Cardinal's father had carried on a flourishing trade with Holland and Germany, from which latter place his ancestor came to England." It does not matter very

materially whether the German origin of the family be a fact or a mere theory ; but in the present contribution towards the genealogy of the Fishers we fail to find any evidence of the fact whatever.

Occasional Essays. By the Rt. Rev. FRANCIS CHATARD, D.D., Bishop of Vincennes. Pp. 376. New York: Cath. Pub. Society.

THIS is a miscellaneous collection of some four-and-twenty short papers, which the Bishop has contributed at various times during the past five-and-twenty years to the *Catholic World*, or other periodicals. All sorts of subjects are treated, differing from one another as widely as "The Vatican Council" and the "Frequency of Suicide," the "Truth of Miracles" and "Total Abstinence," the "Souls of Brutes" and "Max Müller's Chips."

The papers differ in merit almost as much as in subject, and have evidently been composed *currente calamo*—and without any great trouble, study, or research.

Some of the chapters are decidedly instructive and readable ; for instance, that on the "Frequency of Suicide." Others, on the other hand, strike us as weak. There is a want of grip and proportion in the essays on "Herbert Spencer" and on "Max Müller's Chips," and on "Darwin's Mistake," as though the writer were but partially acquainted with these three celebrated writers and their voluminous works and treatises.

When he comes to speak on "Land Tenure and Eminent Domain," he deals indeed with a difficult as well as a practical question, but we read through his interesting and eminently readable contribution to the literature of that subject, feeling the real problem has not by any means been solved.

The subject of Total Abstinence occupies three chapters, and they set before us not only all that Catholic theology has to say of importance on the point, but a good deal that medical authorities have to remark also.

What the English call the hob-nailed liver [a term we have not yet come across] is a terrible and incurable condition brought about by excess of alcoholic stimulants. It consists in a chronic inflammation of the membrane of the liver which dips into the organ everywhere, and holds its small lobes together. The inflamed condition caused by alcohol causes it to contract, to squeeze the lobes, to interfere with their action, and the result is that what should pass through the liver naturally, is impeded, and dropsy incurable is the result, the early stage of which is the bloated condition of the features, the latter pronounced dropsy, especially of the heart, resulting in death. This of itself, it seems to us, should put one on his guard in the use of intoxicants ; while it should be the reason for not a few to enter a total abstinence society. Certainly

there is nothing more deplorable than to witness such effects in a man, whose future, but for his folly, would have been so different. How many, in the very midst of a brilliant career, have gone down to a drunkard's grave in this way (p. 333).

The little volume is neatly got up, bound in cloth boards, and enriched with a short preface by the author.

Have Anglicans Valid Orders ? By E. ANSTICE BAKER. Pp. 20.
Art and Book Company.

THIS is an excellent little treatise, and should find its way everywhere. In these twenty pages, is condensed the wisdom of many learned volumes, which thousands have neither the time to read nor the money to purchase.

There is but one fault we have to find with Mr. Baker's little pamphlet, and that is so important a one, that we hope it may be corrected in the future editions, which are sure to be called for. We refer to some of his references. For instance, on p. 3, we are referred to "An Ancient Editor's Note Book," but no page is given. Again in note (*g*) the only reference is "Cobbett." Even the chapter is not mentioned. In note (*n*) we are sent to "The Reformation of the Prayer-book," by Nicholas Pocock, but no further information is vouchsafed. In note (*w*) we are informed that the passage quoted comes from "Hutton on Anglican Orders," but without any further detail.

And there are several other instances of a similar kind. No one has ever had much to do with arguing on disputed points, without realising the immense importance of clear and precise references. Nothing is so vexatious as to possess within one's hands telling and convincing evidence—to know it lies stored up within the covers of some authoritative volume, or learned work—and yet not to be able to point to the very passage and context in the original.

The pamphlet is poorly got up, and printed in small type. It really deserves a more presentable dress, as it is a valuable contribution to the literature of a subject of actual and burning interest.

J. S. V

Reviews in Brief.

Our Lady of Good Counsel. By GEORGINA GOUGH. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1894.—This is a very brightly written and interesting account of the Picture and Shrine of our Lady of Good Counsel at Genazzano. Our thoughts are lovingly directed towards our Blessed Lady, as “the cause of our joy,” and our devotion is intensified by the faith and piety which breathe through these pages. This little work bears the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Birmingham. The preface is by his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster.

Lourdes Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow. Translated by ALICE MEYNELL. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.—Mrs. Meynell has done a good service to English Catholics in translating M. Barré's work on Lourdes, which supplies in a small compass all that the general reader would wish to know of the history and present condition of the celebrated shrine of our Lady. The translation is excellent, and shows no traces of a foreign original; and the volume is a very handsome one, well adapted for a present. Our only complaint would be that the reproductions of twelve water-colours by M. Hoffbauer, with which it is illustrated, are almost all too vivid in colour to be agreeable or true to nature.

La Mission Providentielle de Jeanne d'Arc. Par le Très Révérend Père OLLIVIER, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris. 1894.—This interesting brochure comprises, in some thirty pages, the substance of a lecture delivered at Amiens on May 18, 1894, with subsequent additions by the reverend author. Starting from the incontrovertible statement that history contains no mission or figure comparable to the figure and mission of Joan of Arc, he goes on to give a series of eloquent descriptions of some of the most dramatic episodes of her extraordinary career. He shows, too, how little support the maid received from her fellow-countrymen after the first rejoicings over her early victories had subsided. Intrigued against by captains humiliated by her success, and by soldiers resentful of her reform of camp life, she stood alone among the enemies openly or covertly leagued against her, to whom her capture must have been matter rather for rejoicing than for lamentation.

The Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. By the Rev. C. J. BOWDEN, M.R. London and Leamington : Art and Book Company. 1894.—This reprint of two interesting lectures by Father J. Bowden recalls how large a share the Order of St. John had in the social history of England. The Priory on Banbury Hill in Oxfordshire, founded previous to 1209, was a centre of the charitable work and moral influence of the Order, until its final suppression by Elizabeth in the first year of her reign. The knights had houses too at High Wycombe and Thame in Oxfordshire, while in London their memory survives in the name of St. John's Wood, once the property of the hospitallers, and of Jerusalem Passage and St. John's Gate and Square in Clerkenwell. The Temple and Temple Gardens, conferred on them by Edward III., were originally taken on lease from them by the members of the Law Courts. These traditions were to some extent revived by the ceremony of June 1893, when St. John's Gate was re-dedicated by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to the work "for which it was built," and became the central court of the St. John Ambulance Association. Father Bowden gives frequent references to an article on the "Order of Malta," in the DUBLIN REVIEW for July 1859.

The Rambler's Return. By the Rev. MICHAEL P. HORGAN. Louth : J. W. Goulding. 1894.—Father Horgan has told in fluent verse, and with poetic feeling, the tale of a wanderer, led after many strange chances and changes to console the death-bed of a former comrade whose parting soul was overshadowed by the belief that he had killed him in a duel. The romantic scenery, first of the Lake of Geneva and then of St. Michael's Bay on the wild coast of Cornwall, gives a picturesque setting to the action of the poem.

Life of the Blessed Emily Bicchieri. London : Washbourne. 1894.—This anonymous volume is an interesting compilation from Italian sources of the life of a Dominican nun of the thirteenth century, whose virtues are commemorated in a Proper Office and Mass, by a concession granted in 1769. Endowed on her father's death with an ample fortune, she devoted it to the foundation of a Dominican convent in her native town of Vercelli, and led there a long life of sanctity affirmed by many miracles both before and after her death. The title of Blessed was conferred on her by common consent in her native country for four centuries before it was solemnly sanctioned by the decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated July 19, 1769.

Letters and Writings of Marie Lataste. Translated from the French by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.—This volume, containing sixty letters exquisitely translated from the French, is a sequel to the "Life of Marie Lataste," by the translator, published by him as the sixth volume of his Library of Religious Biography. The present volume, left by him ready for the press, has been brought out by his widow, who prefixes to it a short notice to that effect. The letters, mainly addressed to the spiritual director of the writer, are a wonderful revelation of her inner life, and of the series of visions and admonitions in which she held close communion with the invisible world. The beauty of the language in which they are narrated, combining as it does the most direct power of expression with perfect simplicity, is in itself a miracle, considering that they come from the pen of an ignorant village girl, who, as she says herself, could barely read and write. Still more wonderful is the insight displayed by them into supernatural truths, such as could only have been acquired by her through special revelation.

A Life's Decision. By T. W. ALLIES. London: Burns & Oates. 1894. Second Edition.—We are glad to welcome a second edition of Mr. Allies' valuable record of the momentous years of his life when he was groping towards the light with such an earnest endeavour to attain to it at the sacrifice of all his worldly hopes and prospects. His words help us to realise the agonising position of an Anglican clergyman, with a strong sense of the sanctity of his vocation, when he begins to doubt the validity of his ordination, and consequently of all the acts of his ministry. When the question is complicated by family ties and considerations for the temporal well-being of those dependent on the unhappy doubter's allegiance to his creed, the sacrifice for truth becomes indeed a terrible one. The arguments which convinced Mr. Allies in the teeth of such strong deterrent influences, forcibly presented as they are in this volume, should be of use in helping to solve the problems debated by other waverers under the like circumstances.

A Mother's Sacrifice, and Other Tales. By A. M. CLARKE. London: 18 West Square, S.E.—The touching story of Russian peasant life, which forms the first of the quartette comprised in this volume, has been translated from the Russian, while the other three are original. One of the latter, "Answered at Last," turns on one of the psychological experiences, so full of fascination for readers at the present day, whether in fiction or in what purports

to be fact. The narrator witnesses in a vision a murder which actually takes place, unsuspected by the rest of the world, and his knowledge of which enables him to persuade the assassin when at the point of death to make his peace with heaven. A reason for a revelation, apparently motiveless at the time, is thus supplied years after its occurrence.

Les Jeudis du Pensionnat, du Collège, et de la Famille. Par l'Auteur des "Paillettes d'Or." Deuxième volume. Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 1894.—This volume should be a perfect treasure to parents, teachers, or heads of colleges when driven to their wits' end, as must often be the case, for some means of entertaining their young charges on a rainy holiday. Within its covers is a perfect repertory of amusement, and charades, riddles, acrostics, every form of word puzzle and rhyme combination, are interspersed with recipes for games and tricks, with droll anecdotes, and lists of words which, by their double and treble meanings, lend themselves to the bewilderment of the appointed guesser. The volume has, moreover, a certain literary value from the grace of language with which all its pleasantries, whether in prose or verse, are framed.

The Curé of Ars. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. 'The "Ave Maria," Notre Dame, Indiana.—The life of the poor shepherd lad, unlettered, unsophisticated, and so impenetrable to human learning that he only received Orders by special intervention of the Bishop on the ground of his exceptional piety after failing to pass the necessary examination, yet who, by the irresistible influence of his celestial sanctity, drew 80,000 pilgrims a year to his village of Ars, cannot be told too often. Miss O'Meara sets it in lucid sequence before us, and brings freshly home to our minds the marvel of that mysterious mingling of the natural and supernatural which the Church proclaims in those she canonises as saints. Feeble in body dull in intellect, without eloquence or learning, Jean-Marie Viaud irradiated from his mere presence an influence more potent than that of the greatest preachers, and was a fresh instance of the substitution of divine wisdom for human faculties in those chosen as the great exemplars of sanctity on earth.

The Heart and Songs of the Spanish Sierras. By GEORGE WHIT WHITE. London: Fisher Unwin. 1894.—The author supports his assertion that the true glory of Spain is found in its mountains, with the authority of an old Spanish chap book, which declares that "the nobility of Spain dwells nearest to the snow!"

The words form a suitable introduction to a volume which records a series of delightful journeys made in the most delightful way—viz., on a good horse, with the traveller's light luggage carried in saddle bags. Starting from Xerez, he visited Medina Sidonia, and other mountain towns and villages, situated amid the most romantic scenery, and still presenting those primitive aspects of life so rapidly disappearing from the world. The words and music of some characteristic national songs and dances are also contained in the volume.

Maelcho. By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS. London: Smith, Elder. 1894.—Miss Lawless has in this work done for the Ireland of the sixteenth century what Robert Louis Stevenson has done for Jacobite Scotland, and Mr. Stanley Weyman for Valois and Bourbon France. The framework of her tale resembles that of "Kidnapped," in so far as that it narrates the adventures of a boy hero, cast upon the world by the capture of his uncle's castle, and massacre of his kinsfolk. The scene is first laid in Connaught, amid the tribal wars and harryings to which that province was a prey. In escaping from the raid of the Anglo-Norman de Burghs, the fugitive survivor of his family falls into the hands of the wild Irish tribe of the O'Flaherties, and shared as a prisoner their savage life in the glens of Connemara. Borne with their fleet of curaghs to take part in the rising of the Desmonds and Fitzmaurices, he joins a party landed on the coast of Kerry with the oft baffled aim of driving the English across the Channel, but is again transferred by the fortune of war into the power and service of the latter. The lurid page of Irish history on which the narrative is focussed, starts out from the narrative in powerful and realistic presentment, calling up to the mind's eye a picture charged with horrors, without a single episode of gallantry or fair stand-up fight to redeem its record of cold-blooded butchery. The story of so many rival packs of wolves could scarcely be more unrelieved in its gruesome ferocity than this narrative, we doubt not, resting on a historical basis, of the doings of Ormonde and Desmond, of the Butlers and the Geraldines, with the English soldiery as the allies of the former, outdoing both in the universal rivalry of extermination.

Heart's Ease. By THEODORE TILTON. London: Fisher Unwin. 1894.—The author's muse is a prolific one, since this volume of some 400 pages is but one of two containing his completed works. There is a stirring rhythm in his verse which witnesses to genuine inspiration, and his ballad metres have the true ring of time and

tune. Their measured music comes as a relief after the *Æolian*-harp-like vagaries of many modern versifiers, much as a strain of national melody does in a symphony of the Wagnerian school. The verse rendering of many of the German legends is excellent, and "The Silver Bell of Stuttgart" with its echoing rhymes is among the best of these.

History of St. Philomena. Edited by CHARLES HENRY BOWDEN, Priest of the Oratory. London: Art & Book Co., Paternoster Row. 1894.—Little is known of this favoured saint beyond the fact that her relics were found in a Roman catacomb early in this century beneath three tiles bearing her name and the emblems of virginity and martyrdom; the "History of St. Philomena" is therefore mainly a record of the prodigies which have made her name and her shrine at Mugnano famous in the Church. Pope Gregory XVI. styled her the *Thaumaturga* of the nineteenth century; and she enjoys the singular distinction among the unknown saints of the catacombs of a proper office and feast. The marvels wrought at her tomb, and through her intercession, will seem strange even to Catholics unfamiliar with the shrines of southern Italy; the editor anticipating, not without reason, that they may excite the surprise, if not try the faith of some of his readers. His book is intended for Catholics, and we should not recommend it to any who fail to realise the Communion of Saints and the perpetual presence of the supernatural in the Church. It needs no apology for being more devotional than critical; for some of the prodigies related it offers little evidence, and makes no attempt to reconcile them with natural laws or to make them more easy of acceptance to an incredulous generation.

Divine manifestations are suited to the capacity of those who receive them, and may be coloured by the fancies of the minds through which they pass. Certain aspects of a fact or story will strike a certain class of minds more forcibly than others; and the attempt to describe supernatural appearances, or even to state them, will follow preconceived lines. Such unavoidable limitation of truth is not falsehood. In some such light the stories which perchance seem childish, trifling or incredible, appear as the natural expression by simple-minded, imaginative people of their wonder at the marvels occurring beneath their eyes. Making ample allowance, however, for the effects of the supernatural upon a class of observers so different from ourselves, there remains in this edifying narrative a vast body of miraculous intervention which is both well authenticated and well calculated to excite confidence in the power of the Saints, and to fill humble souls with admiration that God should give such power to men.

J. I. C.

Paillettes d'Or. Neuvième Série. Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 1894.—The pious periodical, popular amongst our French neighbours, which bears the expressive name of “Golden Spangles” is now celebrating what it terms its Silver Wedding. A collection of edifying little stories, of spiritual maxims, and of suggestions for the sanctification of life, it has been carrying on for the past twenty-five years the good work of scattering seeds of faith and piety. We mean nothing disrespectful, but only wish to suggest the character of the publication by describing it as a mixture of patriotism, piety, and fashion which is peculiarly Parisian. On p. 58 the puffs, powders, and pigments, with which the fashionable *jeune fille* is supposed to be familiar, are employed to symbolise the graces and virtues which render the soul pleasing to God. A better story on p. 114 tells of the Confraternity of the Holy Omelette, the associates being a few young commercial travellers whose apostolate consists in arriving early at *table d'hôte*, and calling aloud for *maigre* dinners. “Golden Spangles” is thoroughly French in both style and manner, and although it may suit children and school girls, we should prefer to see something much more solid and masculine in the hands of our English people.

J. I. C.

L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ. Avec des annotations par le R. P. GABRIEL BOUFFIER, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 1894.—The editor believes that “the faithful who enjoy reading the ‘Following of Christ’ like to find appended some pious reflections which may sum up its teaching, and make it more useful and practical!” (vii.). For the benefit of such misguided persons the Père Bouffier has added to each chapter meditations and developments of the text. It requires some hardihood to attempt such a task. Those who like the milk or wine of their spiritual reading plentifully diluted with water may care for this edition, which is otherwise well printed and neat.

The Sacred Heart, and Other Sermons. By the Rev. ALFRED FAWKES. London: Burns & Oates.—A little volume of brief and literary sermons, in which the language is well-chosen and often poetical, and the thoughts are never commonplace and sometimes original. The sermons leave the impression of being written as essays, and not so well suited for preaching.

Mass of St. Mary Magdalen, for voices only. **Mass of St. John Baptist, for voices only.** (Seventh edition.) **Mass of St. Cæcilia, in B flat, for four mixed voices with accompaniment.**

(Fourth Edition.) By the Rev. J. E. TURNER, O.S.B. London: Alphonse Carey.—Father Egbert Turner seems to have the useful secret of writing easy music that is by no means void of distinction. Easy Masses are not to be despised. Choirs are not always willing to practise, and long-suffering congregations will always prefer the commonplace, decently presented, to the elaborate mangled and spoiled. The earliest of these Masses has reached a seventh edition—a fact which seems to prove that it has attained a considerable popularity. That which is called “St. Cæcilia” has also been taken up very readily. The first on our list, that of St. Mary Magdalen, is the most recent. Like the others, there can be little doubt that its neatness of phrase, balance, grace, and pure harmonies will commend it to singers and to listeners. There is in it a somewhat larger use of imitation, and altogether a more elaborate development. But all this music, without being trivial, is simple, melodious, and well laid out for the voices. It is what an average choir can make effective and devotional, and, at the same time, what the skilled musician will by no means be tempted to despise.

Books Received.

- Theologia Dogmatica Generalis.** G. David. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. viii.-563, 371. Lyons: E. Vitte.
- A Retreat.** By Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. 8vo, pp. xi.-428. London: Burns & Oates.
- A Catechism of Humility.** By Mother Elizabeth of the Cross. 12mo, pp. 154. London: R. Washbourne.
- The Rambler's Return.** Rev. M. Horgan. Pp. 88. Louth: Goulding.
- Hospitaller Knights of St. John.** Rev. J. Bowden. Pp. 32. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.
- Easy Selections from Herodotus.** Marathon and Thermopylæ. A. C. Liddell, M.A. Pp. xi.-84. London: Methuen & Co.
- History of the Papacy during the Reformation.** Right Rev. M. Creighton, Bishop of Peterborough. Vol. V. 8vo, pp. 384. London: Longmans & Co.
- Divorce.** Report as Received by the Lower House of Convocation of York. Pp. 106. York: Simpson.
- Christianity and the Roman Government.** E. G. Hardy, M.A. 8vo, pp. xv.-208. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century.** Rev. E. Hogan, S.J. 8vo, pp. ix.-506. London: Burns & Oates.
- Letters and Writings of Marie Lataste.** E. H. Thompson, M.A. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 202. London: Burns & Oates.
- L'Université Catholique de Fribourg.** C. Morel. Arras: Sueur, Charruez. Pp. 51.
- De la Necessité de Developper les Études Scientifiques.** R. P. Zahm, C.S.C. Pp. 28. Bruxelles: Polleunis et Ceuterick.
- Runaway Marriage. Only a Child's Story.** Mrs. W. Maude. 8vo, pp. 187. London: Catholic Truth Society.

Stories on the Beatitudes. L. E. Dobrée. 8vo, pp. 256. London : Catholic Truth Society.

The Heart and Songs of the Spanish Sierras. G. W. White. 8vo, pp. 197. London : T. Fisher Unwin.

A Constant Lover. Translated from the German by J. Nisbet. 8vo, pp. 193. London : T. Fisher Unwin.

Some Aspects of Disestablishment. Edited by H. C. Shuttleworth. 8vo, pp. ix.-192. London : Innes & Co.

A Life's Decision. T. W. Allies. 8vo, pp. xvi.-320. London : Burns & Oates.

Mission Providentielle de Jeanne d'Arc. Pp. 29. R. P. Ollivier, O.P. Paris : Lethielleux.

Attitude of the Church of England to Non-Episcopal Ordinations. Rev. W. Firminger, B.A. Pp. xiv.-75. Southampton : J. Parker & Co.

The Portraits of St Bernard. Rev. S. Eales. Pp. 19. London : Innes & Co.

Le Saint Sacrifice de la Messe. N. Gehr. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 419-458. Paris : Lethielleux.

Ueber die Entwicklung der australischen Eisenbahnpolitik. M. Kandt. 8vo, pp. 258. Berlin : Hans Mamroth.

Cœrimoniale Missarum Solemnium et Pontificalium. G. Schöber. 8vo, vii.-424. Ratisbon : Pustet.

Psychologia Rationalis. Rev. B. Boedder, S.J. 8vo, pp. xvii.-344. Fribourg : Herder.

Venerable Vincent Pallotti. The Lady Herbert. 8vo, pp. vii.-156. London : Art and Book Company.

Our Lady of Good Counsel. Georgina Gough. Pp. 75. London : Art and Book Company.

Life of Blessed Emily Bicchieri. 8vo, pp. 108. London : R. Washbourne.

Triumph of Charity on Earth and in Purgatory. Rev. J. Malthus, O.P. Pp. 38. London : Burns & Oates.

- Introduction to the New Testament.** Rev. F. Godet, D.D.
Translated by W. Affleck, B.D. 8vo, pp. 621. Edinburgh:
T. & T. Clark.
- Journals of Retreat.** Rev. J. Morris, S.J. 8vo, pp. 388. (Quarterly Series.) London: Burns & Oates.
- History of St. Philomena.** Edited by Rev. C. H. Bowden.
8vo, pp. 320. London: Art and Book Company.
- Heart's Ease.** Theodore Tilton. 8vo, pp. 410. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Paillettes d'Or.** 12mo, pp. 148. Avignon: Aubanel Frères.
- Le Péché et ses Conséquences.** Par S. E. Cardinal Manning.
Trad. par l'Abbé Maillet. 8vo, pp. 250. Avignon: Aubanel Frères.
- Maelcho.** Hon. Emily Lawless. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 300-350.
London: Smith, Elder & Co.
- The Odes of Horace and the Carmen Sæculare.** Translated into English by Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. 8vo, pp. 154. London: John Murray. 16s.
- The Oxford Dante.** Dr. E. Moore. 8vo, pp. 490. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Primitive and Roman.** A Reply to the *Church Quarterly Review*.
By Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. 8vo, pp. 36. London: Edward Stanford. 1s.
- Les Jeudis.** 8vo, pp. 550. Avignon: Aubanel Frères.
- Summa Syntaxica.** Rev. Mario Laplana, S.J. 8vo, pp. 352.
Fribourg: Herder.
- The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789-1815.** (Cambridge Historical Series.) J. H. Rose, M.A. 8vo, pp. 386.
Cambridge University Press.
- St Antoine de Padoue.** R. P. Leopold de Chérancé, O.M.C.
8vo, pp. 194. Paris: Poussielgue.
- The Sacred Heart, and other Sermons.** Rev. A. Fawkes. 8vo, pp. 91. London: Burns & Oates.
- L'Imitation de Jésus Christ.** Avec des Annotations, par R. P. Gabriel Bouffier, S.J. 8vo.

Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier (2^{me} partie). M. le Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier. Large 8vo, pp. 580. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

Belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ. R. P. Didon, O.P. 8vo, pp. 235. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

What "Bible Truth" is according to the S.P.C.K. A Protest. Rev. J. H. S. Moxley. Pp. 57. London: Rivington, Percival & Co.

Institutiones Philosophicae ad normam Doctrinae Aristotelis et S. Thomae Aquinatis. P. de Mandato, S.J. 8vo, pp. 682. Romae: Ex typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide.

The Curé d'Ars. Kathleen O'Meara. Pp. 196. Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL 1895.

ART. I.—EASTERN DEVOTION TO ST.
JOSEPH.

THE theory of developments in doctrine is familiar to all readers of modern theology. Though not by any means a new principle in itself, it has been put before us with new life and vigour by a master hand. And this living growth and expansion which may be seen in the speculative theology of the Church, is not less marked in her activity in other fields. It is in truth the law of her whole being, as befits the Church which is the living witness of Him who is the Beauty ever old yet ever new. We may find it at work in matters of discipline and ecclesiastical organisation, in moral teaching, in asceticism, in her public and private prayers, in the living devotion which flows from the faith in her mysteries, and in the liturgical symbols and ceremonies in which it finds fit expression. In some of these things there is room for far more variation than is possible in the case of her dogmatic teaching. There can be no new doctrine; what is newly unfolded and defined was there, however undeveloped and implicitly believed, from the very beginning. But it is quite possible to have a new devotion. This is obviously and necessarily the case with devotion to the more modern saints. And even those who lived in an earlier age may sometimes wait long before they are duly honoured in the liturgy, or become the object of popular devotion. Thus St. Justin, a

martyr of the second century, has only lately had his festival celebrated in the Western Church. And the Masses and Offices which we now say in honour of the two St. Cyrils and St. John Damascene have all been granted by the present Holy Father.

Sometimes apparently accidental circumstances may awaken or rekindle devotion to the ancient saints. Thus the revival of patristic studies brings with it a love of the early Fathers, so conspicuous in the writings of Cardinal Newman; and many who have felt his influence may be led to follow his example. But perhaps if we took a deeper and broader view of the history of devotion to the saints, we might find that what seemed the outcome of mere chance, was really the working out of a divine plan. And as in the case of the development of doctrines a certain order is discernible, and each dogma is unfolded in turn; so in the different ages of the Church there is a certain sequence in the various saints who become in turn the most prominent objects of popular devotion. In the sub-Apostolic age the Apostles naturally held the foremost place, and their words and deeds were treasured up and repeated by the favoured disciples who had sat at their feet. Throughout the long period of persecution, when the lesson taught by the martyrs was so much needed by all, it is no wonder if their shrines and their festivals became for a time the chief centres of the prayers and affections of the faithful. But when those days were followed by a deadly struggle with heresy, the martyrs, in some measure at least, gave place to confessors and doctors like Hilary and Athanasius. And perhaps it was only when such special times of trouble and strife were ended, that some great saints of another order began to take their rightful place of prominence in the liturgy of the Church and the private prayers of the people. Not that these devotions were really unknown in the earlier ages; but the time was not yet ripe for their due development and full expression.

So is it with the devotion to St. Joseph. At the present day it fills a large place alike in the public Offices of the Church and in the prayers of the faithful. We turn to the Missal and the Breviary, and we find two solemn feasts in his honour, and a votive Mass and Office allowed on every

Wednesday otherwise free; and his name is constantly commemorated in the *Suffragia Sanctorum* and the Collect *A cunctis*, where it is placed before the names of the Apostles. And in extra-liturgical devotions we find him commemorated in the prayers recited after Mass by order of the Holy Father, and a special prayer is addressed to him in the Rosary devotions prescribed for the month of October. Few popular prayer-books are wanting in hymns and prayers to St. Joseph, and there are not many Churches of importance without an altar erected in his name. The motives and principles which underlie this widespread devotion may be read as they were set forth three centuries ago in the theology of Suarez, or in the writings of St. Teresa, whose order has ever been conspicuous in its zeal for the honour of the spouse of Mary. And the popular practice received a special sanction when the late Holy Father proclaimed St. Joseph the Protector of the Universal Church.

Now in all this there is much that is of comparatively recent growth. If we look back to the mediæval Church, we shall hardly find the same abundant tokens of the honour paid to St. Joseph. In his admirable collection of Latin hymns of the Middle Ages, Mone gives but one addressed to our saint, and he observes in a note that St. Joseph's hymns are neither many nor ancient.*

It would be a mistake, however, to argue from these facts that the devotion itself is something new, and not rather a fresh development and expansion of an ancient *cultus*. There is no ground for supposing that the mediæval and early Church was altogether wanting in devotion to this great saint and patron. We have abundant evidence that the early Christians agreed with the Church of to-day in holding and practising the *cultus* and invocation of the saints. And we know, on the other hand, that the life and saintly merits of St. Joseph were constantly before the eyes of the faithful in the inspired record of the Gospel. Why should we doubt that then as now his name was held in honour, that then as now those who could

* "Die Lieder auf diesen Heiligen sind nicht häufig und nicht alt" (Mone, "Hymni Latini Medii Aevi," t. iii. p. 57). He adds, however, a reference to a Munich MS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century, containing rhymed antiphons addressed to St. Joseph. The MS. from which his own hymn is taken is of the same date.

profit by his example sought the help of his prayers? Still, it might be some satisfaction to us to be able to confirm this inference by some historical traces of early devotion to St. Joseph. And happily such evidence is not far to seek.

It has been said with some justice that in matters of literary criticism, "a foreign nation is a contemporaneous posterity." With yet more truth, we might say of the various separated Churches of the ancient East that they are a contemporaneous antiquity. Some of them have been separated for more than a thousand years; and the doctrines to which they bear witness must be at least as old as the date of their division. And if their theology is in a somewhat stagnant state with little life or fresh development, the defect does but furnish a fresh guarantee of the antiquity of such doctrines and devotions as they have in common with the Western Church. Of late years, our theologians have not been slow to avail themselves of this evidence in matters of disputed doctrine. Let us see whether the Eastern Churches can shed any light on the history of devotion to St. Joseph.

We may fitly begin with an ancient Church which still uses, in the living language of her liturgy, a dialect of the sacred tongue which was spoken of old in the home at Nazareth. Here we may find the devotion to St. Joseph springing from its natural source, the devout contemplation of the Gospel record in which his name is enshrined. Students of the Syriac Testament will not need to be reminded of the numerous liturgical references with which that venerable version abounds. In our own English Bibles, we commonly have a table at the end of the volume giving the portions appointed to be read on the various feasts of the year. But in the Eastern versions similar notices are scattered up and down the sacred text instead of being gathered together at the end.*

At the head of each chapter or section, we find the name of the Sunday or festival to which it is assigned. Thus at the beginning of the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, we read, "Of the Evening of the Nativity." Further on, at verse 13, we find the heading, "Of the Morning of the Massacre of the Children." And if we turn back to

* As Dom Gasquet has told us, a similar plan was adopted in most copies of the early English version. Cf. DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1894, p. 150.

Matthew i. 18, we read, Gelyuno d'Yausef—The Revelation of Joseph. At first sight this might seem to be no more than a descriptive title of the following section which narrates the revelation made to St. Joseph by the Angel, especially as it differs from the other headings by the omission of the prefix "of." But the constant occurrence of liturgical notices and the absence of descriptive titles, are enough to show us that this is in reality a reference to a feast of the Revelation of St. Joseph. And accordingly, when we turn to the Lectionaries and Choral Books of the Syriac Rite, we come upon a lesson appointed to be read, and a canon or hymn appointed to be sung on a feast which bears that name. Thus in a Syriac liturgical manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century preserved at the British Museum (Additional MSS. 14,698, fol. 15. a), there is a somewhat lengthy canon for the Revelation of St. Joseph. It consists of what may be called a metrical meditation on the words of the Gospel, dwelling on the trouble of St. Joseph, and the Angel's wondrous message ; and the joy of the saint is expressed in simple words which he is supposed to say or sing to his holy spouse. The following verses may serve as a specimen of the whole composition. In our translation we adopt a simple rhymeless metre which is perhaps the most natural English equivalent of the Syriac hymn :

Now the Might of God the Father
 Dwells within the womb of Mary,
 There a little child becoming,
 Now is holy Joseph troubled
 For the womb of David's daughter.
 Thus to him the Angel speaketh,
 God is He that dwells within her,
 Son of the Most High we hail Him.
 From his sleep was Joseph wakened :
 Then he rose and bent before her,
 Speaking thus to that sweet maiden,
 He that in thy pure womb dwelleth,
 Unto me hath sent His servant,
 And I bend before the Virgin,
 Mother pure and still a maiden.
 In a dream hath Joseph seen him ;
 That bright Angel stood before him
 Saying, Fear not, son of David,

Take to thee the maiden Mary ;
He that dwells in her is holy.
'Tis the Son of God the Highest ;
'Tis the Father's Word Eternal !

The object of this festival is doubtless the glad tidings told by the Angel. But the Syriac Church clearly considers the message not merely in itself, but especially as it affects St. Joseph. As the above canon shows us, she sings it as a mercy vouchsafed to him, she dwells on his holiness, and enters into his feelings, and joins in spirit in his song of praise. Just as the Annunciation, besides being a solemn commemoration of the great mystery accomplished on that day, is also a feast, and one of the foremost feasts, of our Blessed Lady ; the Revelation or Annunciation of St. Joseph is a true festival of St. Joseph.

If some local interest attaches to the praise of St. Joseph in that Church which still speaks, with some difference of dialect, what may be called his own mother tongue ; it is pleasing to find this note re-echoed in the Coptic Church which uses the language of his land of exile. Among the numerous and lengthy liturgical volumes of the Coptic Church of Egypt, there is one known as the Theotokia, containing, as the name implies, anthems or hymns to the blessed Mother of God, together with similar prayers to some of the foremost saints. A fine quarto volume of the Theotokia and the order of the month Choiak, or December, was issued from the Propaganda press in 1764. Like most Coptic liturgical works, it gives an Arabic version of the text in parallel columns. The greater part of the volume is taken up by the hymns to our Blessed Lady, with various psalms, canticles, and prayers. Only a few of the saints have special hymns allotted to them, and among these is St. Joseph, who comes, as in our own litanies, after St. John the Baptist and before the Apostles. We venture to offer the following rendering of the two hymns addressed to St. Joseph :

Thou in very deed wast worthy
To behold the Word of beauty,
Joseph, son of kingly David,
Joseph, innocent and just one.
'Thou wast worthy to receive her,
Holy Mary, God's own mother,

Till she bore her son, the Saviour,
 Christ the Son of the Almighty.
 Thou didst hear, for thou wast worthy,
 Gabriel's voice his gladsome tidings
 Speaking thus, O Joseph, fear not:
 Take thy wife, yea take her to thee.
 That which shall be born of Mary
 Cometh of the Holy Spirit.
 Truly Joseph, son of Jacob,
 Thou wast fit that men should call thee
 Father of the Lord's Anointed,
 Of the Son of God that liveth.
 Who of all the priests and prophets,
 Who of all the kings was worthy
 To behold what thou beheldest,
 Joseph son of royal David?
 What art thou? The root of David,
 Seed of Abraham our father,
 Father of the Lord's Messiah,
 Husband of the Holy Virgin!
 Hail to thee, for thou art blessed!
 Hail to thee thou blessed elder,
 Joy to thee and endless gladness!
 Joseph, just and saintly father,
 Holy husband of the Virgin,
 Pray to God for us, for pardon,
 That our sins may be forgiven.*
 Thou art held in highest honour,
 Holy Joseph great in glory.
 Who was worthy 'mid the prophets
 Or the priests that men should call him
 Father of the Lord's Messiah?
 Thou art great in favour with Him,
 And thy supplication pleaseth.
 Thus we praise thee, holy elder,
 Joseph, saintly son of David.
 Pray to Christ the God of glory,
 Who was called thy son well loved.
 Pray to Him to give us pardon,
 And to keep us from temptation.
 Hail our holy father Joseph,
 Holy root foretold by prophets.
 Hail to thee, our father Joseph,
 Seed of Abraham our father,

* "Akempsha gar alethos etaknau eou hob enkalos pi thmei Joseph pi dikeos p'sheri en David pouro, etc. . . . Pi Jom ente ni Theotokia nem Katataxis ente pi Abot Choiak," p. 170.

Just and saintly son of David,
 Hail to thee, O holy elder,
 Hail to thee, our holy father,
 Pure and righteous, held in honour,
 Holy father, root of David,
 Called the father of Messias.
 Hail to thee, O holy Joseph,
 Hail to thee, the pure and stainless,
 Called the husband of the Virgin,
 Hail to thee that with God's mother
 Forth from Bethlehem didst journey
 Onward to the land of Egypt.
 Hail, O Joseph, just and saintly,
 Who didst hold the hidden mystery.
 Hail to thee, O holy elder,
 Holy is the rod thou bearest ;
 Just man, thou art clothed with justice.
 Hail our holy father Joseph,
 Just one thou art pure and stainless.
 Thou didst hear the voice of Gabriel
 Telling thee the gladsome tidings,
 Tidings for the world's rejoicing.
 Hail in God's own house implanted,
 Joseph, son of royal David,
 Seed of Abraham our father,
 Hail to thee for thou hast finished
 All thy days in perfect justice,
 And from hence thou hast departed.
 Hail to thee, our father Joseph,
 Now with God in His high kingdom
 Dwelling in the greatest glory.
 Hail ; thy prayers are not rejected,
 God accepts thy supplication :
 For the prayers of holy Joseph,
 May He pardon our offences.*

Though we have only seen these hymns in the aforesaid Roman edition, we have had the satisfaction of finding some of the Marian hymns in the same collection among some MS. Coptic fragments at the British Museum. The printed text of these songs to our Blessed Lady is singularly faithful to the mediæval manuscripts ; and the above hymns to St. Joseph are quite in harmony with those which are addressed to his holy spouse.

* "Ou nishti pe peктаio," etc., *ibid.* p. 215.

From the Copts we may naturally pass on to the neighbouring and subject Church of Abyssinia, which uses the Gheez, or Ethiopic, as its liturgical language. Our national library is rich in manuscripts written in this ancient Semitic tongue, which are in great part the spoils of the Abyssinian war of 1868. In one of these Ethiopic manuscripts, a book of hymns for Saints' Days, written by some Abyssinian scribe of the last century, there is a hymn of some length addressed to St. Joseph (Oriental MSS. 577, f. 107). Like very many of these compositions, it consists of *Salaams*, or salutations, in which the name, the hair, the head, the face, the eyes, &c., of the saint are venerated in turn, while petitions for his help are interwoven with these words of praise. It may not inaptly be considered as a litany, like that of Loreto, cast on a larger scale, where the *Salaams* take the place of the various titles by which the saint is addressed, and the petitions are an expansion of the *Ora pro nobis*. The following passage may serve as a specimen of these Ethiopic prayers, and as a striking instance of Abyssinian devotion to St. Joseph :

Hail to thy eyelids, that like a wall surround thy eyes. Joseph dispenser of the food of justice, like Joseph (the patriarch) with the basket (of corn). Feed me with thy blessing, for I am a pilgrim; so that vengeance may not be taken on me. Hail to thy eyes, that are the light of all thy members, as the Gospel saith. Joseph, helper of them that are in trouble, and father of the poor, give me food in plenty, my friend, for my friend has come to me from the field. Hail to thy ears, that are shut against the sound of vanity, and open to the voice of prayer Joseph beloved of Jesus and His mother, they that work iniquity have stood up against me; scatter thou their league and confound their counsels Hail to the going forth of thy soul, without pain or corruption.

The great difference between the whole form of these prayers and that of our own only makes the unity in doctrine and in devotion the more striking.

It would take us too far, if we entered into the question of devotion to St. Joseph in the great Greek Church. And there is little reason for dwelling on it at any length, after what we have seen in the sister Churches of the East, which are beholden to her for so much of their liturgy and their theology. Even if we had no direct evidence of her devotion to our saint, their witness might well be taken as sufficient proof of

its existence. We may mention, however, that the feast of St. Joseph is celebrated in the Greek rite on the Sunday after Christmas, and hymns or canons in his honour were written in the ninth century by his namesake and client, Joseph the Hymnographer.* Some of the canons of this Greek writer have been translated and embodied in the Syriac choral books, and it is likely enough that the hymns to St. Joseph may be among these. But the Syriac canon which has been quoted above does not bear his name, at least in our manuscript.

In passing to the Armenian Church, we may betake ourselves to a less recondite source than mediæval manuscripts. We had almost finished this brief account of the devotion to St. Joseph in the Eastern Churches, when by some happy accident we came upon an Armenian hymn-book, published some fifty years since at the Mechitarist Monastery of San Lazaro, Venice. It contains a hymn to St. Joseph of such singular beauty, that our readers may pardon us if we attempt to clothe its thoughts in English words.

In the day when death approaches, in my danger near me stand;
 Holy Guardian of Our Saviour, hold to me thy helping hand,
 Think how Jesus with thy Mary stood beside thy bed of death;
 Let my lips their sweet names utter blended in my parting breath!
 Who is this, the Child thou bearest, Whom thy arms with love enfold?
 'Tis the Lord, the saints and prophets yearned to see in days of old!
 Even as a son He loves thee, gives to thee a father's right,
 He the Son of God Whose wisdom rules the changing orbs of light!
 This broad earth and all it holdeth, standeth by His might alone,
 And He rules the heavens where seraphs trembling stand before His
 throne.

Yet He deigns to let thee clothe Him, lets thee toil to give Him food,
 He that gives the birds their plumage, feeds the raven's clamorous brood!
 Holy Guardian of Our Saviour, for thy help we sinners pray;
 Never, never, from thy pleading will He turn His head away.
 Wilt thou be to us a refuge? we shall 'scape the demon's power;
 Thou with Jesus and with Mary art our hope in that dread hour! †

It may be well to add that the saint is addressed in the Armenian original as *Astouatsahajr*. We have rendered this, imperfectly enough, by the title "Guardian of Our Saviour."

* See the *Menaca* for the month of December, p. 250, in the Venice edition of 1685.

† "Maghthan'kh Tshaphau" (Prayers in Verse), p. 91.

But the expressive compound really means "father of God." This daring phrase is hardly in accordance with the more cautious and accurate language of Latin theology; but the sense in which it is used by the Armenians is sufficiently obvious. Its explanation, and possibly its origin, may be found in the words which Mary addressed to her divine Son, "Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing."

Such are some of the signs that devotion to St. Joseph is by no means neglected among the Churches of the ancient and unchanging East. Further research would doubtless enable us to add much to this evidence. But what has been said is surely sufficient to warrant and confirm our belief that the devotion which has happily spread so much amongst us in recent years is but an ancient *cultus* newly developed and extended. Like other devotions in the Church, and like the very doctrines from which they spring forth, it unfolds itself more freely and fully in the course of time. Or to apply a figure of Hebrew prophecy which has a special fitness here, it may be likened to a growing shoot and comely to behold, whose branches leap over the wall.

There is, moreover, good reason for rejoicing in the spread of this particular devotion in the present age. The development of the true doctrine has its counterpart and contrast in the gradual growth and progress of the errors which assail it. During the past three centuries Protestantism has run its fatal course, and in too many cases is now issuing in that fundamental error of which Socinus was the harbinger in an earlier day. When Dom Maran wrote his well-known work on the Divinity of our Lord, some were inclined to regret what they considered a waste of labour. But the great Benedictine was wiser than his critics. A vindication of that fundamental doctrine is never without its use. Yet in truth the best defence and support of our faith is to be found not so much in such learned books, as in the quickening exercise of the devotions that naturally blossom from the faith itself when it is deep and living, and not a cold assent to an abstract doctrine. The real stay of our faith in the ground truth of Christianity is a deep personal devotion to our Divine Lord, combined with those subsidiary devotions which are at once its fruit and its safeguard. Cardinal Newman has told us how

the devotion to Our Lady wards off the errors which deny the Divinity of her Son. And the same may be said in a measure of the kindred devotion to her holy spouse. Even the few passages brought together in the foregoing pages show us how the belief in the Divinity of our Lord runs through all the words of prayer and praise addressed to the saint who was chosen to be His guardian and foster-father. It is true no doubt that all the saints, of whatever age, have a very close relation to our Divine Lord, and their union with Him is the source and the secret of their sanctity. But this is nowhere so plainly seen as it is here. Many of the saints have done a great work in the world, or have left behind them writings for our instruction, and there is some danger, or at least a possibility, of our dwelling too much on these outward works. But when St. Joseph is set in a foremost place in the liturgy or in popular devotions, we are reminded that the real greatness of the saints does not consist in these things, but in their single-hearted service of their Divine Master and in their close union with Him. In the life of St. Joseph we cannot well misread the lesson, for there is absolutely nothing else to distract our attention. And perhaps it is well for us that in an age of over-refinement and intellectual pride, we should seek our pattern and patron in one who ministered to his Divine Master not in the schools, or in the temple, but in the humble workshop and in the daily cares of the household. Who is better fitted to teach us the much needed lesson of the dignity of lowly labour, and the holiness of home?

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. II.—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN JAPAN.

1. *Les Missions Catholiques au XIX^{me} Siècle.* Par LOUIS EUGÈNE LOUVET. Lille-Paris: Société de St. Augustin. 1895.
2. *Histoire Générale de la Société des Missions Etrangères.* Par AD. LAUNAY. Tome iii. Paris: Téqui. 1894.
3. *Société des Missions Etrangères: Compte Rendu des Travaux de 1893.* Paris: Séminaire des M.E. 1894.
4. *Supplementum ad Compendium Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Complectens Brevem Expositionem de Missionibus Societati Missionum ad Exteros Creditis.* Pulo-Pinang: Collegium Generale. 1885.
5. *Japan.* (In the series "The Story of the Nations.") By DAVID MURRAY. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.
6. *Religion in Japan: Shintoism, Buddhism, Christianity.* By GEORGE A. COBBOLD, B.A. London: S.P.C.K. 1894.

THE present long-continued war between the two nations of the extreme East, the collapse of the Chinese Goliath, and the unvarying success of the Japanese David, have excited a widespread and intense interest in all that relates to Japan and the Japanese.

But the history, present condition and prospects of Christianity in Japan is a subject which scarcely needs these considerations to render it one of surpassing interest. The contact between a race so highly endowed by nature as that of the Japanese, and the powerful leaven of Christianity, must of necessity produce reactions and results destined to be little less momentous than similar contacts in the past between Christianity and, let us say, the Keltic and Anglo-Saxon races. To the student of philosophy, as well as to the historian, it must be interesting in the highest degree to watch such processes of spiritual chemistry.

Those acquainted with the life of the Apostle of the Indies, and more especially readers of Father Coleridge's admirable "Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier," will scarce need reminding how deep an impression was made on the saint's mind by what he heard from two Japanese converts,* and how Japan became to him truly a land of predilection. From the moment of his meeting with Anjiro, the idea of a missionary expedition to Japan took hold of his soul.

It was not until 1549 that Francis was able to undertake his great task, the evangelisation of the Island-Empire. On April 25 he embarked at Cochin for Malacca, whence, in the Nativity of St. John Baptist, he sailed for Japan "on board the ship of a heathen merchant, a Chinaman." The voyage lasted seven weeks, and a most interesting account of it is given by Francis himself in his first letter from the place of his arrival. He had with him the two Japanese, Anjiro (otherwise "Paul of the Holy Faith") and the latter's servant, Father Cosmo de Torres, and a lay-brother, João Fernandez.

So by the guidance of God [he writes] we came at last to this country, which we had so much longed for, on the very day of the Feast of Our Blessed Lady's Assumption 1549. We could not make another port, and so we put into Cagoxima, which is the native place of Paul of the Holy Faith. We were most kindly received there both by Paul's relation and connections and also by the rest of the people of the place.†

The port of "Cagoxima"—*i.e.*, Kagoshima ‡—lies upon the deep inlet which indents the southern extremity of Kyūshū, the southernmost island of the archipelago. It was at the time the capital of the principality of Satsuma. The first successes of the saint and his companions were truly gratifying. We have his own words for it.

In this same very long letter, addressed to the Society at Goa, Francis, besides a very full account of the Japanese manners and customs, gives us his opinion of the Japanese people, of whom

* Anjiro (or Han-Siro) and his servant, who had been brought to Malacca, and there instructed and baptized (1547).

† Coleridge, vol. ii. p. 232.

‡ We shall adopt in this paper the spelling of modern Orientalists for Japanese names and words. It must be remembered that the early Jesuit missionaries spelled according to the Portuguese sounds. The Portuguese *x* is pronounced as *sh*.

he speaks with something like enthusiasm. "The nation with which we have had to do here," he declares, "surpasses in goodness any of the nations lately discovered. I really think that among barbarous nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than the Japanese."

St. Francis Xavier stayed little more than two years in Japan. He and his companions laboured successfully at Hirado, Hakata, Yamaguchi, Kyoto,* and Bungo, though with very varying success. The Church of Japan was securely founded, and from the sweat and tears of its first great Apostle there sprang that glorious harvest which was destined to ripen in an incredibly short space of time.

St. Francis Xavier left Japan in the November of 1551. His intention was to visit the vast Empire of China, and then begin to sow the seeds of Christianity as he had done in Nippon. He had heard much about China whilst in the neighbouring kingdom, and had met Chinamen there. "The Chinese whom I have seen," he says, "are acute and eager to learn. Their intellect is superior even to the Japanese." And again, "China is that sort of kingdom that, if the seed of the Gospel is once sown, it may be propagated far and wide."† But it was not merely the desire to carry the Truth to China that moved Francis to this new expedition. He saw in it a means of reacting upon his beloved Japan.

Every one knows that St. Francis Xavier was never destined to reach the shores of China, and that he died an outcast on the little island of San Chan, at the mouth of the Canton river, on December 2, 1552, like Moses in sight of the Promised Land.

The following half-century marks an epoch of marvellous prosperity in the Japanese missions. Numerous Jesuit fathers and lay-brothers were sent over, as Francis had desired, to carry on the work so auspiciously begun. Within thirty years it is calculated that over 200,000 Japanese, including several bonzes, had been converted, and the princes of Omura, Bungo, and Arima were among these neophytes. Nagasaki was the chief seat of Christian life. By 1567 it was said that

* Called by St. Francis "Myako"—i.e., the Capital, for such it was in his time.

† Letter lxxxvi. Coleridge, p. 348.

the population of that city was almost entirely Catholic. The virtual ruler of Japan at this time was Nobunaga, the celebrated Minister and commandant of the forces. This able Minister was distinctly favourable to the Christians all during his administration of nine years (1573-1582). All this time the Jesuit fathers had been pushing forward their apostolic work, and had met with marvellous success. In Kyoto and Yamaguchi, in Osaka and Sakai, as well as in Kyushu, they had founded flourishing churches, established colleges for the formation of a native clergy, opened hospitals and asylums, and extended their influence far and wide. The latter part of Nobunaga's supremacy was perhaps the era of their greatest prosperity. At this time Chamberlain estimates the number of Japanese Christians at not less than 600,000. Nobunaga's patronage of the Christians was largely inspired by political motives. His strong Government had made him hated by the Buddhist bonzes, whose overwhelming power he effectually held in check, and who looked upon him as a usurper, as he technically was. It was this disaffection of the bonzes that led him to support the Christian missionaries. They seem to have attributed his patronage to higher motives, and to have looked forward to his conversion. But though churches were built under his patronage at Kyoto and at Azuchi, in Lake Biwa, near his own beautiful residence, he never seems to have seriously intended to become a Christian. For some time after Nobunaga's death nothing occurred to interfere with the development of the Church, indeed, that date (1582) coincides with the mission of Father Valignani from Gregory XIII. to be mentioned just now.

The fervour, zeal, and devotion of these new Christians were worthy of the early days of Christianity. The Holy See was very soon able to rejoice in the addition to the fold of legions of devoted children. Gregory XIII. deputed Father Alessandro Valignani, S.J., with gifts to the converted Japanese princes, and they in their turn in 1582 despatched a solemn embassy to Rome, consisting of two young princes and two counsellors, who were accompanied by Father Valignani and another Jesuit. This embassy was received with all state and splendour both by Gregory XIII., who died during their stay in Rome (1585), and by his successor, Sixtus V. But on

their return to their native country the Japanese delegates found that troubles had already broken out.*

It was in 1587 that the first anti-Christian edict was issued by the celebrated Taiko-Sama, one of the greatest rulers Japan has ever known; and the years from that date till 1650 may be fairly designated the era of the persecutions, the special and abiding glory of the Japanese church.

Before, however, we enter upon the history of these persecutions, the mention of Taiko-Sama's name calls for a brief explanation of the state of Japanese government at that time. In our ecclesiastical histories this first persecutor is always spoken of as "the Emperor Taicosama." The title is entirely erroneous. To explain how the early missionaries fell into this error, it will be necessary to refer to a much earlier period of Japanese history. The line of the Emperors (or "Mikados") of Japan goes back in an unbroken line from our own day to the founder of the dynasty, Jimmu, who appears to have reigned from 660 to 585 B.C. But at the close of the twelfth century of our era the all-powerful minister Yoritomo succeeded in establishing the curious system of government known as the *Shogunate*, which endured till so recent a date as 1868. This system resembles nothing so much as that of the "mayors of the palace" under the later Merovingian kings. The "Shogun"† was commander-in-chief of the forces, and also vicegerent of the Empire. And though for long periods he was actually the *de facto* ruler, still during the whole eight centuries of the Shogunate, this potentate always scrupulously observed the outward show of reverence for and absolute dependence upon the Emperor, whose humble servant he professed to be, and whose commission he always received for the performance of his duties. This curious form of government

* This was not the only Japanese embassy to the Holy See at that time. At the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva in September 1894, the eminent Sinologue, Prof. Valenziani, of Rome, read a paper on two passages of the *Nippon hyak'kets' den*, a kind of biographical encyclopædia, by which he established that during the last years of the sixteenth century, Gamau Udji-sato, daimyo of Aidzou, sent no less than four different embassies to the reigning Pontiff, with the purely political object of detaching him from the Spaniards, against whom the Japanese were contending in the Philippines. As the president of the section, Prof. Schlegel, remarked, these facts were entirely new and hitherto unknown to European scholars.

† The name was long known in Europe under the quasi-Chinese form "Tycoon."

is described with fair accuracy in the memoir on Japan drawn up by Paul Anjiro, with the peculiarity that he styles the Emperor "Voo" and the Shogun "Goxo," words of which we have not seen an explanation anywhere.* Yet the early Jesuit missionaries seem to be quite oblivious of the existence of the Mikados, or Emperors, whose names never appear in the acts of the ancient Church of Japan.

The famous Taiko-Sama (literally "Lord Taiko") was in reality the Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief, and Vice-gerent, known in Japanese history as Hideyoshi. He was not Emperor, and never obtained even the exalted title of Shogun, but was content with the lower one of "Kwambaku," though his power was none the less absolute. His predecessor in power, of whom we have spoken above, the scarcely less celebrated Nobunaga, like himself held the authority, without enjoying the title of Shogun.

In 1585 Hideyoshi, after a brief period of confusion, became the virtual ruler of Japan. At first he does not seem to have been hostile to the Christians, but his sentiments gradually underwent a change. Various reasons have been assigned for his development into a persecutor. Prominent among these must have been the influence of the bonzes, who doubtless did their best to arouse his suspicions against the foreigners. He was, indeed, already inclined to look upon the Jesuits as secret envoys of the King of Portugal. But whatever dislike to Christianity had been growing up in his mind was fanned to a flame by the firmness and constancy of certain Christian maidens who refused to yield to his lustful passions, and preferred death to sin. The first step towards persecution was Taiko-Sama's edict of 1587. All "foreign religious teachers" were commanded to quit Japan within twenty days under pain of death. The Jesuit fathers thereupon withdrew to Nagasaki, where it would appear they were allowed to devote themselves to the spiritual wants of the Europeans. Yet so far from these measures checking the growth of Christianity, not only did the Japanese converts

* Perhaps "Voo" may be meant for the Japanese word "Wau," ruler or sovereign, and "Ten-wau," heavenly king, is actually a title of the Mikado. But "Gossiyo" (*lit.* exalted place) is also one of the titles of the Emperor himself.

remain staunch in their faith, but it is calculated that during the next few years over 60,000 more were added to the fold. Meanwhile new elements were introduced.

Much has been made by Protestant writers of the mutual jealousies of the Jesuits and the other orders. A word must therefore be here said upon this subject.

It appears that in 1585 Pope Gregory XIII. issued a brief giving the Society of Jesus the exclusive charge of the Japanese missions, as indeed it had well merited by its extraordinary successes. The Spanish Government viewed with a jealous eye whatever secured the monopoly of the Portuguese in the country; and the Governor of the Philippines soon after despatched an embassy to Hideyoshi seeking to obtain permission to trade at some of the Japanese ports, and with the embassy he sent four Franciscans, who were thus indirectly permitted to establish themselves in Kyoto and Nagasaki (1593). Taiko-Sama at first seemed favourably disposed to these Franciscans, and they soon took the opportunity of publicly preaching the Gospel, which they did with great success. This activity, combined with the mischievous gossip of a Portuguese (or Spanish*) sea captain, seems to have roused Taiko-Sama to fury. The imprudent fellow boasted that the King of Spain had sent his own missionaries into Japan in order to pave the way to a future conquest of the islands. Nothing more was required to give the signal for a cruel persecution. The death-penalty was decreed against all the Christian preachers. The first fruits of the glorious Japanese army of martyrs were the twenty-six who were crucified at Nagasaki on February 5, 1597. They numbered six Franciscan fathers, including the Superior, Father Peter Baptist, fifteen Japanese tertiaries of the same order, three Japanese Jesuits, and two servants. At the thrilling scene of this martyrdom, which has been too often told to allow of repetition here, was present the first bishop who had yet set foot on Japanese soil. This was Pedro Martinez, S.J., appointed Bishop of Japan by Sixtus V., whose singular privilege

* The accounts are contradictory, as is also the chronology of these events. I have followed the Pulo-Pinang "Compendium," which differs considerably in the order of its narrative from Mr. D. Murray, whose dates appear to me to be hopelessly confused.

it was to transmit to Rome the acts of the Protomartyrs, of which he himself had been an eye-witness.

It is only fair to remark here that some of the responsibility for the persecution appears to be due to the action of the converted Japanese princes, who, not content with embracing the Catholic faith, seem to have been only too ready to force it upon their subjects, and to pose as regular persecutors of Buddhism. Those were not days when "toleration" was understood in any country; but it would really appear that this untimely zeal of some of these princes reacted disastrously upon the pagan rulers.

Taiko-Sama, or Hideyoshi, died in 1598. After some years of civil war, the power passed into the hands of a man scarcely less able than himself, Ieyasu, in whom the office of Shogun (in abeyance since 1573) was restored, and who founded the Tokugawa Dynasty, or Shogunate. A period of comparative peace and prosperity for the Japanese church now ensued. Bishop Luiz Serqueyra, S.J., was able greatly to console and confirm his flock, which he ruled peacefully till 1614. Ieyasu even received the bishop with a certain degree of favour in 1606 at Kyoto, and the following year the Provincial of the Jesuits. About the same time Dominican and Augustinian fathers began to arrive and to swell the ranks of the missionaries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the number of Japanese Christians is said to have risen to 1,800,000. But the peace was to be of short duration; it was but the prelude to one of the most awful persecutions ever recorded in the history of the Church.

Even during the period just referred to, a certain amount of local persecution of the Christians was going on, especially in the principality of Fingo (Higo), where several martyrs suffered. But in 1617 the persecution became general, and for twenty years it endured with a violence surpassing that of Nero. It is a lamentable fact that much of the responsibility of this terrible persecution must be laid at the doors of the Dutch Protestants, who, as well as the English, at this time began to trade largely with Japan. National jealousy of the Portuguese and Spanish, as well as religious hatred, were rife at the time, and there is only too strong evidence to believe that the new-comers did much to poison the mind of the

Shogun against the Catholics. Mr. Murray thinks that Ieyasu had also been enraged by the solemn celebration of the beatification of Ignatius Loyola (1609) by public processions of the bishop and all the religious orders through Nagasaki, in spite of a "warning proclamation" issued in 1606. But this was long years before the outburst of the persecution, the actual edict for the extirpation of Christianity to secure the safety of the Empire was issued in 1614. All members of religious orders, whether native or European, were to be expelled the country, the churches which had been erected were to be pulled down, and Japanese converts were to be compelled to renounce their faith. Some 300 persons were shipped from Japan on October 25, but eighteen Jesuit fathers and nine lay-brothers escaped and lay concealed. Among other exiles was the powerful noble Takeyama, known in the Christian annals as Justus Ucondono. He was one of those converted princes and is accused of having carried out a system of persecution against the Buddhists in his territory of Akashi. But whatever misguided zeal he may have shown in that matter, he certainly set a bright example of personal heroism in the hour of trial. He stimulated his fellow Christians by his constancy in the faith, and his readiness to forego all honours and dignities in its defence. Already banished in Taiko-Sama's reign, he was now deported to the Philippines, where he died of a painful sickness in 1615.

The new edict was carried out with ruthless severity. A special department, entitled "The Christian Enquiry," was instituted for the purpose of searching out Christians and forcing them to apostasy. Priests and laity were hunted down; large rewards were offered for information against Christians in every rank of life; a special scale was published for the betrayal of parents by their children, and of children by their parents. Ieyasu died in 1616, just at the beginning of the persecution, but it was continued with relentless fury by his son and successor. History has but one verdict upon the diabolic atrocity of the persecution. "One may search the grim history of early Christian martyrology," writes the author of "The Conquests of the Cross," published by Messrs. Cassell, "without finding anything to surpass the heroism of the Roman Catholic martyrs of Japan. Burnt on stakes made of crosses,

torn limb from limb, buried alive, they yet refused to recant." "It has never been surpassed," says Mr. D. Murray of this persecution, "for cruelty and brutality on the part of the persecutors, or for courage and constancy on the part of those who suffered."* Mr. Gubbins, in the Japanese Asiatic Society's "Transactions," after detailing some of the more barbarous tortures inflicted, adds, "Let it not be supposed that we have drawn on the Jesuit accounts solely for this information. An examination of the Japanese records will show that the case is not overstated."

Painful as is the subject, some record must be made of what these heroic confessors of the faith had to undergo.

We read [says the last quoted writer] of their being hurled from the tops of precipices, of their being buried alive, of their being torn asunder by oxen, of their being tied up in rice-bags, which were heaped up together, and of the pile thus formed being set on fire. Others were tortured before death by the insertion of sharp spikes under the nails of their hands and feet, while some poor wretches, by a refinement of horrid cruelty, were shut up in cages and there left to starve with food before their eyes.

Specially awful were the torments inflicted in the caves of Un-gen (or On-sen) between Nagasaki and Shimabara. Here some were plunged into the boiling sulphur springs, others suffocated by the fumes, some forced to drink enormous quantities of water, and then, like Margaret Clitheroe, pressed to death beneath crushing weights. But of all tortures the most terrible was that known as "the Fosse," or suspension head downwards into a pit, the martyr hanging by a rope fastened to the feet and attached to a projecting post. The suffering was excruciating; blood exuding from the mouth and nostrils, and the pressure on the brain being almost unendurable. Yet the victim usually survived eight or nine days! We can hardly be surprised that many succumbed under the trial, and that a number fell away into apostasy. Yet what were they compared with the glorious army of martyrs, including women and children, mostly natives, who triumphed and won their Crown? Statistics alone are capable of giving an idea of the terrible character of the persecution. It is

* "Japan," p. 248.

reckoned that over 1000 religious of the four orders, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, shed their blood for the faith during its course, whilst the number of native Japanese lay-folk who perished exceeded 200,000! "Since the Apostolic times no grander spectacle had been exhibited to the Christian world, it embraced episodes beautiful enough to delight the angels, and refinements of wickedness sufficient to excite the jealousy of demons."*

Everybody has heard of the trampling on the Cross which Europeans were required to perform to save their lives. This test was known to the Japanese as *e-fumi*, and was carried out under the direction of an officer styled *Kirishitan Bugyō*, or "Christian Inquisitor." Specimens of the metal trampling plates upon which the Crucifix was engraved—made too from the metal obtained from the Christian altars—are still to be seen in the Uyēno Museum in Tokyo. The Dutch made no difficulty in submitting to the test, and for the sake of trade privileges were content several times a year to trample upon the figure of Him whom they professed to worship as their Saviour.

The last scene in this terrible tragedy was the revolt in the principality of Arima in 1638. One can hardly wonder, perhaps, at the Christians being driven to desperation by their twenty years' persecution. Yet Mr. Murray points out that it is but justice to remember that this rebellion was not due exclusively to the Christians, but that it was probably originated by other causes, namely, the misgovernment and senseless cruelty of two successive daimyos of Arima, whose tyranny drove the farmers of Arima and Amakusa to open revolt.† Then it was that the Christians rose *en masse* in the province to swell the banks of the insurgents, the total number amounting, it is said, to 40,000. Then came the long siege of the strong position of Shimabara. It will be remembered that the Dutch under Koeckebacker, on this occasion, acceded to the request of the Government and lent their powder and cannon to the besiegers. Dr. Geerts has written a defence of Koeckebacker's action in the Japan Asiatic Society's "Transactions," and thinks

* Louvet, p. 235.

† "Japan," pp. 257-260.

he could not help doing what he did, and that any European would have done the same in the same position. Finally, Shimabara was carried by assault after a siege of 102 days, and a general massacre ensued. We have Koeckebacker's own authority that of the 40,000, young and old, all, except one, were slaughtered. From that moment Christianity appeared to be extinct in Japan. The last bishop of the ancient Church of Japan, Luis Sotelo, O.S.F., had perished, having been burnt alive in 1624. A few scattered remnants yet remained. Edicts continued to be issued against the pestilent sect of the Christians.

For more than two hundred years, notice boards stood besides highways, ferries, and mountain passes, containing, among other prohibitions, the following :—"So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan ; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if he violate this Commandment, shall pay for it with his head."*

So the Church, which at the beginning of the century counted 1,800,000 souls, appeared by its close to be absolutely extinct. A silence of death settled down upon it. We hear, indeed, of an Italian Jesuit, Father John Baptist Sidotti, reaching the shores of Japan in 1709 ; but he was immediately captured and thrust into prison, where he soon perished. He was the last Jesuit who has ever trodden the Japanese soil. After his death, darkness, black as night, spread over the scene, for it must be remembered that, not only was Christianity (apparently) exterminated, but all intercourse with foreigners, even for trade, was abruptly broken off, the only partial exception being in favour of the Chinese and Dutch.

Before leaving the subject of the ancient Church of Japan, it would seem but justice to record one more of its titles to glory, though, indeed, a minor one. We refer to the labours to the early missionaries in behalf of philology and literature. Protestant writers have recorded with astonishment the fact that whilst the Dutch, favoured as they were by the Japanese Government, did nothing in the cause of science, it is to the Catholic Missioners, in spite of the terrible times of persecution, that Europe owes the earliest works relating to the Japanese

* See Cobbold, "Religion in Japan," p. 94.

language and literature. Thus, the Dutch orientalist Hoffmann, writing the "Journal" of the German Oriental Society (vol. xii. pp. 441 *sqq.*) says :

It cannot but excite just surprise, as Adelung has already remarked with disapprobation, that the Dutch, whether merely from lack of interest or from petty motives of selfishness, have waited until the most recent times before publishing anything of value concerning the language and literature of Japan. And yet they had every opportunity to do so. . . . Holland cannot easily allege any serious excuse for not taking the task earlier in hand. They had only to continue building upon a ground already prepared for them by the Portuguese in a highly commendable manner, as was always the case, and bequeathed by them to their successors in Japan, who were the Dutch themselves. . . . To whom, then, are we indebted for the first scientific knowledge of the Japanese language? To the Dutch? Oh, no! To Portuguese missionaries like Alvarez, Rodriguez, and Collado, who had already published their Japanese grammars and dictionaries at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.*

The above-mentioned João Rodriguez, S.J., arrived in Japan in 1583, and under his direction a series of important publications appeared between 1590 and 1610. In 1595 there was printed in the Jesuit College at Amakusa the now rare Portuguese-Latin-Japanese dictionary, occupying 906 quarto pages, and of remarkable completeness. In 1603 followed a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary. In 1604 Father Rodriguez's Japanese grammar was printed at Nagasaki. The Dominicans rivalled the Jesuits in their literary zeal. The above-named Diego Collado was a Dominican, whose dictionary and grammar of the Japanese language appeared in Rome in 1632. Three years before the Dominicans of Manilla had printed a Spanish translation of the Jesuit dictionary. After Rodriguez, who died in 1633, other missionaries, such as Lopez and Sylva, worked in the same field. For two centuries, moreover, the reports of the Catholic missionaries were the best and almost the only sources of a knowledge of Japan and the Japanese people. Father Froës, S.J., in the second half of the sixteenth century, deserves special mention in this respect. According to Anushin, he was the first European to speak of the curious primeval race of the Ainos.†

* See Jos. Dahlmann, S.J., "Die Sprachkunde und die Missionem," pp. 57, 58 (Freiburg, Herder, 1891).

† See DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1894.

A number of religious works in the Japanese language for the use of native Christians were compiled and published by the Catholic missionaries. Bishop Serqueryra, whom we have spoken of above, composed a work on moral theology. One of the Franciscan fathers, known as Diego de las Llagas, was a native Japanese, who, besides translating the "*Flos Sanctorum*" into his mother tongue, published also a Japanese grammar and a Spanish-Latin-Japanese dictionary.

Special mention must also be made of the efforts of the early missionaries to accommodate the Japanese language to the Roman alphabet, a work which has been taken up earnestly in our own time by the *Rōmaji-Kai*, and which occupied a considerable space of the attention of the Geneva International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. In 1590 the Jesuit missionaries began to cast European type in Japan, and they elaborated a complete system of transcription in Roman characters. Mr. Ernest Satow, the eminent Japanese scholar, has published an interesting monograph, "*The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan*," 1590-1610 (London, 1888), in which a full account is given of the literary labours of our missionaries in this regard. Numerous Japanese works, printed according to this system, exist in the libraries of Europe.

II.

Though Catholicity in Japan was to all intents and purposes extinct, the blood of so many martyrs was not destined to be shed in vain. During the death-silence of well-nigh two centuries, the Holy See did not altogether forget this once so hopeful field of spiritual harvest. Almost contemporaneously with the final struggles of the Church of Japan, an entirely new movement was taking shape in Europe, leading eventually, under the marvellous guidance of Providence, to the erection of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris, and the formation of the greatest foreign missionary agency which the Church has ever seen, the illustrious *Société des Missions Etrangères*. In so far as the society can be said to have had "founders"—for in the literal sense of the word it had really no founder*—it was the two first Vicars Apostolic for the Far

* See on this subject Ad. Launay, "*Hist.Gén.*," tom. i. (Paris, 1894.)

East, Mgr. Pallu and Mgr. de La Motte Lambert, appointed in 1658 by Pope Alexander VII., who have the nearest claim to that title. The primary end of the new society was the creation of a native clergy in the foreign missionary countries confided to its charge; the second one, the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen. The first centre of its work was in the kingdom of Siam, where a general seminary for the training of native clergy was erected in the old capital, Ayuthia. The earliest countries of the Far East evangelised by the members of the society were Annam (Cochin China), Tonkin, Siam, and parts of China. Yet even at that early date the eyes of the society seem to have been turned towards the Forbidden Land, for two of its very first missionary bishops, Mgr. Laneau and Mgr. Cicé, received in turn the barren title of Vicars Apostolic of Japan.* Nothing at all practical, however, was attempted till early on in the present century.† Curiosity was awakened in 1831 by the shipwreck of a Japanese vessel on the shores of the Philippines. Some twenty shipwrecked sailors were kindly received by the Spaniards, who were surprised to find them wearing Christian medals, which they appeared to reverence with superstitious veneration. On inquiry, they said they had descended to them from their ancestors. These descendants of the ancient Christians were all instructed and baptized. Already the Anglican Bible Society had been making efforts to introduce their Bibles into Japan, but had met with little success, and even been forced to fly.

To Gregory XVI. was reserved the glory of reopening the sealed book of the history of the Japanese Church. In 1832 he erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Korea, attaching to it the Liu-Kiu (Ryu-Kyu, or Loo-Choo) Islands, dependencies of Japan, in the hope that they might become a gate opening into the Island Kingdom, as indeed they proved to be. Some attempts—not altogether unsuccessful—seem to have been made at this time by the Société des Missions Etrangères to send a few Catechists into Japan, with what fruit we know

* Ad. Launay, p. 202.

† It is recorded in the Pulo-Pinang "Compendium" that at the close of the last century a few men arrived in Cochin China saying they were Japanese missionaries, and begging for some sacred vestments from the Vicar Apostolic, to whom they made themselves known under the greatest secrecy. The sequel does not appear (p. 127).

not. In 1838 we find Mgr. Imbert writing home, under date of November 22, "Souvent il m'arrive de tourner des regards et presque d'espérance vers les rives du Japon." It was the 200th anniversary of the massacre of Shimabara.

A new factor was about this time introduced into the Japanese problem. The various governments of Europe and the United States were making more and more energetic efforts to bring about an opening-up of Japan for commercial purposes. In the constant negotiations for this end, the various navies necessarily played a leading part; the real diplomatists were the admirals and commodores, French or English, American or Russian, who carried on the only possible communications with the coy government of the Shoguns. The French authorities were willing to associate their efforts with those of the great French missionary society to gain a footing in the Land of Promise. In 1844 the French squadron was under the command of Rear-Admiral Cécile. He consented to despatch the *Alcmène*, under command of Fornier-Duplon, to the Liu-Kiu Islands, having on board M. Forcade, a priest of the Missions Etrangères, and Augustine Ko, a native Catechist, who had already suffered as a confessor of the faith, and subsequently became a priest. On the Feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, April 28, the capital of the group, Nafa, was reached, and negotiations were at once opened with the government of the petty king. The end was that the two missionaries were allowed to remain. They soon found, however, that their condition was little better than an honourable durance. They were installed in a Buddhist monastery, but subjected to a constant and harassing surveillance.

□

I was barely allowed [wrote M. Forcade] to take a little exercise on the sand or mud by the sea-shore, and even then I might not go out alone. I was surrounded by the inevitable mandarins, preceded by satellites armed with bamboos to strike the poor people and drive off any passers-by, which was naturally calculated to render me an object of odium.

The Japanese Government having got wind of these proceedings promptly demanded the missionary's head; but the Dutch resident at Deshimo, to his credit be it said, interposed his good services, and perhaps respect for the French squadron

had its influence; the danger passed over. So two years went by, without any possibility of communicating with the natives even of Nafa. In 1846, Pope Gregory XVI., to show his interest in the work, nominated M. Forcade Bishop of Samos and Vicar Apostolic of Japan. The same year, Admiral Cécile called at Nafa with his squadron and endeavoured to negotiate a treaty. The missionaries were now allowed to remain in the Tu-mai lamassery and to procure books for the study of the language, and were relieved from the vexatious surveillance they had hitherto endured. Two new missionary priests, MM. Adnet and Leturdu, now arrived at the Liu-Kiu Islands, whilst Mgr. Forcade went to France in the interests of his vicariate.

A gap of eight years now occurs in the progress of our history. In 1854, under the pontificate of Pius IX., M. Collin, a missionary of Manchuria, was nominated Prefect Apostolic of Japan, but died immediately after his nomination. M. Libois, the new Superior, sent out three new missionaries to the Liu-Kiu Islands, under M. Girard; but their position was a very painful one, and, like their predecessors, they were subjected to incessant and vexatious surveillance. Once more the French naval commandant, Admiral Guérin, interposed his good offices, and a new treaty was made with the king. The missionaries were now allowed to buy some land and build a house in the centre of the town. But as regards evangelical work, all they could possibly achieve was to baptize a few babies at the point of death, and also a few old people.

In 1856, Admiral Laguerre, taking a missionary on board visited Nagasaki; but all his efforts at friendly negotiation were in vain. Other European nations had in the interval been more successful. The real opening-up of Japan is to be credited to the United States, for it was Commodore Perry who in 1853 conducted the first successful negotiation with the Shogun's Government, not without a very considerable and perhaps necessary display of force, and the American treaty was ratified in 1854. Treaties followed with Great Britain in the same year, Russia in 1855, and Holland in 1856, each providing for the admission of traders to two Japanese ports. France was still knocking at the door. In 1857, two frigates, having two missionaries on board, touched

at Nagasaki, and one of the priests actually landed, but was quickly obliged to beat a retreat.

At last, in 1858, Japan was finally opened to the French, and as a consequence to the missionaries of the French society. To Baron Gros belongs the credit of negotiating the treaty at Yeddo (now called Tokyo), signed on October 9. The ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate were opened by this diplomatic key. Religious liberty was allowed to foreigners, not yet to natives. On November 28, M. Girard, now Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Japan, writes in exalting strains to the Central Council of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith :

After ten years of waiting and painful uncertainty about the future of a mission, always so dear to us, to behold the gates at length opened is an event in which we cannot fail to see the direct intervention of Almighty God. The treaty awards to the Minister plenipotentiary the right of travelling all over the Empire. We hope that one of us may be able to accompany him and seek out the remnants of the ancient Christian settlements said still to exist in Japan.*

Very little, however, could be done at first. Prudence made caution absolutely necessary. Missionaries were placed in each of the three treaty ports to attend to the spiritual wants of European Catholics, and chapels were erected at Yokohama and Nagasaki. That of the former town was dedicated with considerable pomp on January 12, 1861, and many Japanese, undeterred by severe Government edicts, daily visited it out of curiosity.

We must now turn our eyes for a moment to Rome. Already, as early as 1627, Pope Urban VIII. had permitted the Franciscans and Jesuits to celebrate yearly an office and mass in honour of the martyrs of their respective congregations who, as above narrated, had been crucified at Nagasaki under Taiko-Sama in 1597. Their cause pursued its course in Rome, and finally on Whit Sunday 1862, Pius IX., surrounded by an extraordinary gathering of Catholic bishops from all parts of the world, had the consolation of solemnly proclaiming the canonisation of these twenty-six first Martyrs of Japan.

What followed in Japan seemed like a visible answer to the

* Ad. Lamy, p. 365.

honours thus so splendidly rendered to these heroes of the faith. On February 19, 1865, the fine Catholic church dedicated to the XXVI. Martyrs was opened at Nagasaki, the scene of their martyrdom. This church had been built by M. Bernard Petitjean, a native of the diocese of Autun, who, having joined the Société des Missions Etrangères, had been sent out to Japan in 1860. We must let this illustrious missionary, whose name will be for ever indissolubly bound up with the history of the Japanese Church, narrate the wondrous sequel in his oft-quoted own words :

Scarce a month had elapsed since the benediction of the church at Nagasaki. On March 17, 1865, about half-past twelve, some fifteen persons were standing at the church door. Urged no doubt by my Angel Guardian, I went up and opened the door. I had scarce time to say a *Pater* when three women between fifty and sixty years of age knelt down beside me, and said in a low voice, placing their hand upon their heart:

"The hearts of all of us here do not differ from yours."

"Indeed!" I exclaimed. "Whence do you come?"

They mentioned their village, adding: "At home everybody is the same as we are!"

Blessed be Thou, O my God! for all the happiness which filled my soul. What a compensation for five years of barren ministry! Scarce had our dear Japanese opened their hearts to us than they displayed an amount of trustfulness which contrasts strangely with the behaviour of their pagan brethren. I was obliged to answer all their questions, and to talk to them of *O Deous Sama*, *O Yaso Sama*, and *Santa Maria Sama*, by which names they designate God, Jesus Christ, and the Blessed Virgin. The view of the statue of the Madonna and Child recalled Christmas to them, which they said they had celebrated in the eleventh month.* They asked me if we were not at the seventeenth day of the Time of Sadness (i.e., Lent); nor was St. Joseph unknown to them; they call him *O Yaso Samana yo fu*, "the adoptive father of our Lord." In the midst of this volley of questions footsteps were heard; immediately all dispersed. But as soon as the newcomers were recognised all returned laughing at their fright.

"They are people of our village," they said. "They have the same heart as we have."

However, we had to separate for fear of awakening the suspicions of the officials whose visit I feared. On Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, April 13 and 14, 1500 people visited the Church of Nagasaki. The presbytery was invaded; the faithful took the opportunity to satisfy

* According to the old Japanese calendar, the year began with our February.

their devotion before the crucifix and the statues of Our Lady. During the early days of May the missionaries learnt of the existence of 2500 Christians scattered in the neighbourhood of the city. On May 15th there arrived delegates from an island not very far from here. After a short interview we dismissed them, detaining only the Catechist and the leader of the pilgrimage. The Catechist, named Peter, gave us the most valuable information. Let me first say that his formula for baptism does not differ at all from ours, and that he pronounces it very distinctly. He declares that there are many Christians left up and down all over Japan. He cited in particular one place where there are over 1000 Christian families. He then asked us about the Great Chief of the Kingdom of Rome, whose name he desired to know. When I told him that the Vicar of Christ, the saintly Pope Pius IX., would be very happy to learn the consoling news given us by himself and his fellow-countrymen, he gave full expression to his joy. Nevertheless, before leaving he wished to make quite sure that we were the true successors of the ancient missionaries. "Have you no children?" he asked timidly.

"You and all your brethren, Christian and heathen, of Japan, are all the children whom God has given us. Other children we cannot have. The priest must, like your first apostles, remain all his life unmarried."

At this reply, Peter and his companion bent their heads down to the ground and cried out, "They are celibate. Thank God!"*

Next day an entire Christian village invited a visit from the missionaries. Two days later 600 more Christians sent a deputation to Nagasaki. By June 8 the missionaries had learnt the existence of twenty-five "Christianities," and seven "baptizers" were put into direct relation with them.

Thus [to quote M. Launay's admirable *résumé* of this marvellous episode], in spite of the absence of all exterior help, without any sacraments—except baptism—by the action of God in the first place, and in the next by the faithful transmission in families of the teaching and example of the Japanese Christians and martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the sacred fire of the True Faith, or at least a still burning spark of this fire, had remained concealed in a country tyrannised over by a government the most despotic and the most hostile to the Christian religion. All that was required was to blow upon this spark and to rekindle its flame in order to realise once more the wish expressed by our Saviour, "I am come to cast fire upon earth, and what do I desire but that it be enkindled?"

Such was the almost miraculous event of March 17, 1865, in honour of which Pius IX. established a feast, with the rank of a greater double, to be celebrated for ever in Japan under the title of "The Finding of the Christians."

* Ad. Launay, pp. 457-459.

It was a graceful recognition of the part played by Father Petitjean in this resurrection of the Japanese Church that further prompted Pius IX. to nominate him the following year (1866) as Bishop of Myrophitus and first Vicar Apostolic of Japan.

One of the first acts of the new bishop was to erect a statue to "Our Lady of Japan" in 1867, and the same year Pius IX. pronounced the beatification of 205 more of the early Japanese martyrs, including both men and women.

We cannot be astonished that, in spite of all precautions, the secret soon leaked out in Japan. Christianity was still a proscribed religion, forbidden under pain of death. No wonder the year 1867 saw the commencement of fresh attempts at persecution. In 1868 a fresh edict was issued and displayed on the public notice boards, declaring "The evil sect called Christian is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers, and rewards will be given." One of the missionaries, M. Laucaigne (afterwards Vicar Apostolic), had a narrow escape of being arrested. Sixty-five Christians of Urakami were actually seized.

This same year (1868) saw the great national revolution, which entirely altered the system of government. This is not the place to narrate this, the most important political event which had occurred for seven centuries in Japan. Suffice it to say that the upshot of the struggle was the abolition of the Shogunate, established by Yoritomo as far back as 1192, and the resumption of supreme and undivided power by the real Emperor, the Mikado, whose supremacy had been practically dormant during all those long centuries. It was the still reigning Mikado, Mutsuhito, then only sixteen years of age, under whom this great revolution was effected. Strange to say, this restoration of the imperial power was coincident with a recrudescence of persecution. Fresh imperial edicts against Christians were published. Between October 1869 and January 1870, 4500 Christians were deported from Urakami and the Goto Islands, the chief centres of Catholicity. Pius IX. addressed to these confessors a letter of encouragement. In reply to remonstrances from the Powers, the Government of Tokyo in a memorandum accused the missionaries of fomenting disorder. And it was a considerable time before

the Consuls could induce the Government to recall the exiles, and withdraw the measures decreed against the Christians.

The next few years are designated in the annual reports of the missionaries as a time of mingled persecution and liberty. For in spite of the expiring efforts of hostility and repression, the growth of Catholicity and the expansion of Catholic works went on very rapidly. It was not till 1873 that all religious persecution ceased. It is calculated that between 1868 and 1873 from 6000 to 8000 Christians were torn from their families, deported, and subjected to cruel tortures, so that nearly 2000 died in prison.* On March 14, 1873, all the Christian prisoners were set at liberty, though the missionaries were not yet allowed to penetrate into the interior.

From this time forward the history of Catholicity in Japan has been one of most gratifying progress. The number of missionary priests sent out by the society largely increased, rising from 3 in 1860 to 28 in 1880, and to 82 in 1891. Nuns were introduced, belonging to the two Societies of St. Paul of Chartres and of the Child Jesus. The first religious women entered Japan in 1872, and soon had several native postulants. The first native nun (at least in modern times), and also the first to die, was Agatha Kataoka Fūkū, in religion Sister Margaret, the sister and daughter of martyrs, who herself died quite young from the effects of the ill-usage she had endured as a child in gaol, when she saw her father perish under the blows of the executioner. In 1882 Sister Julia (Maria Fūyū), and in 1885 Sister Mary (Melania Kustugi Totu) were professed. These were the first fruits of the religious life in the new Church of Japan. There are now a good number of native nuns, both professed and postulants. A native clergy, too, has been created, the first Japanese priest having been ordained in September 1883, and nineteen native priests are already at work. "If," says Louvet, "in the hour of trial this heroic Church, which was able with mere catechists to preserve the Faith, had had a native clergy, it is probable that Japan would at the present day be well-nigh Christian."†

The ecclesiastical government of Japan has necessarily developed to keep pace with this religious growth. In 1876

* Louvet, p. 238.

† *Ibid.* p. 239.

(June 3) Pope Pius IX. divided the vicariate of Japan into two, a North and a South vicariate. His successor, Leo XIII., in 1888 (March 16), created a third vicariate, Central Japan, out of that of South Japan; and in 1891 (April 17), divided that of North Japan, erecting the new vicariate of Hako-date. The preceding year, on the 25th anniversary of the "Discovery of the Christian," the First Provincial Synod of Japan was held at Nagasaki, close to the tomb of Bishop Petitjean (who had died October 7, 1884), and in the very church where the wonderful event of March 17, 1865, had taken place.

Who could then have told Father Petitjean [wrote his successor, Mgr. Jules Cousin] that twenty-five years later there would be assembled at the foot of the same altar four bishops, with over thirty missionaries and native priests, and that his first meeting with a few poor women, who were praying to *Santa Maria*, would have had such rapid and consoling results?*

At this synod was first announced the great and crowning act long contemplated by Leo XIII.—the formal creation of the Japanese hierarchy. This was effected by the Apostolic Letter, *Non maius Nobis*, dated June 15, 1891. In this interesting document the Holy Father, after a brief but succinct summary of the history of Catholicity in Japan from the time of St. Francis Xavier down to our own day, refers in graceful terms to the "courtesy and justice" of the present Japanese Government towards Catholic missionaries, and especially to the interchange of amenities between the Holy See and the Mikado. (The latter had solemnly received Mgr. Osouf in 1885 with an autograph letter from Leo XIII., expressing the Pontiff's gratitude at the benevolent disposition of the Japanese Government; and in his turn had deputed a diplomatist to Rome to offer his imperial congratulations on the Pope's sacerdotal jubilee.†)

The Pontiff then proceeds to create and delimit the four sees. The Metropolitan See is fixed at Tokyo, "the illustrious

* "Illustrated Catholic Missions," vol. iv. p. 63.

† Two other indications of the changed dispositions of the Mikado's Government deserve to be quoted here. In 1877 when a fresh persecution threatened in Korea, and Mgr. Ridet, V.A., was arrested, the Japanese Government intervened in his favour! On August 11, 1884, an imperial decree disestablished Buddhism and Shintoism, the State religions, and declared the bonzes to be no longer State officials.

city, which is the capital of the Empire and the residence of the most serene Emperor," and is bounded on the north by the provinces of Ichigo, Iwashiro, and Iwaki; in the south it embraces the provinces of Iechizen and Owari, and extends to the shores of Lake Biwa. It is thus a continuation of the old vicariate of North Japan, *minus* that of Hakodate, which had been detached only in the April of the same year.

Of the suffragan sees, that of Hakodate, like the vicariate of the same name, embraces the whole of Japan north of the archdiocese, with Yezo, the island of the Ainos, and the Kurile Islands. The see of Nagasaki occupies South Japan, in continuation of the old vicariate, embracing the islands of Kyu-Shu, Hirado, Goto, Chushima, the Liu-Kiu Isles, and several smaller ones. All the rest, the former vicariate of Central Japan, from Lake Biwa to the south of the main island of Nippon, and including the island of Shikoku, forms the diocese of Osaka. Th former Vicars Apostolic now became bishops with territorial titles: Mgr. Osouf being first Archbishop of Tokyo, and Metropolitan; Mgr. Cousin, Bishop of Nagasaki; Mgr. Midon, Bishop of Osaka; and Mgr. Berlioz, Bishop of Hakodate.

With the creation of the hierarchy, the Church of Japan enters upon an entirely new era of her history.*

* We append in this footnote a "series episcoporum" of Japan, taken from the Pulo-Pinang "Compendium," and not easy to find elsewhere, with the alterations and additions necessary to bring it up to the present day:—

- I. Antonio Oviedo, S.J., Patriarch of Ethiopia; appointed "Bishop of Japan" by St. Pius V., but declined to accept.
- II. Melchior Carnero, S.J., Bishop of Nicaea; Coadjutor to above, but died at Macao.
- III. Sebastian Morales, S.J., Bishop of Japan, under Sixtus V.; died at Mozambique on his way out.
- IV. Pedro Martinez, S.J., Bishop of Japan, the first to land; was present at the sufferings of the twenty-six martyrs.
- V. Luiz Serqueyra, S.J., Coadjutor; ruled till 1614.
- VI. Didaco Valens, S.J., died at Macao on his way out.
- VII. Luis Sotelo, O.S.F., Bishop of East and North Japan; reached Nagasaki, 1622; arrested and burnt alive, 1624.
- VIII. Auguste Forcade, M.E., Bishop of Samos, and V.A. of Japan. (After his death FF. Collin, Libois, and Girard, Superiors.)
- IX. Bernard Petitjean, M.E., Bishop of Myrophitus and V.A. of Japan, 1866; V.A. of South Japan, 1876; died 1884.
- X. Joseph Laucaigne, M.E., Bishop of Apollonia, and Auxiliary to preceding, 1873; died 1885.
- XI. Pierre M. Osouf, M.E., Bishop of Arsinoe and V.A. of North Japan, 1877; Archbishop of Tokyo, 1891.
- XII. Jules A. Cousin, M.E., Bishop of Acmonia, and V.A. of South Japan, 1885; Bishop of Nagasaki, 1891.

The following table* gives a summary view of the growth of the Japanese Church in this century :

Year.	Superiors.	Missioners.	Native Clergy.	Churches and Chapels.	Schools.	Number of Catholics.
1860	1 Prefect Apostolic	2	0	0	0	(none known)
1870	1 Vicar Apostolic	13	0	4	0	10,000
1880	2 " "	28	0	80	60	23,989
1891	1 Archbishop, 3 Bishops	82	15	164	64	44,505

The following additional particulars regarding religious persons and works in the four dioceses are taken from M. Louvet's handsome work, and from other more recent sources :—

Archdiocese of Tokyo.—There are 32 native catechists ; 13 Brothers of Mary for education of boys ; 25 Sisters of the Holy Child, some of them natives, besides 8 novices ; 10 Sisters of St. Paul, with 5 native postulants. There is an ecclesiastical seminary, a preparatory college, a Marist college with 80 boys ; the 20 primary schools contain 1418 children ; 4 orphanages contain 1001 pupils. There is also a Leper asylum (Gotemba) with 34 lepers, and 3 dispensaries kept by the nuns.

Diocese of Nagasaki.—This is the next Catholic part of Japan, containing (in 1894) 31,674 Catholics. There are now 19 native priests in it, and 14 native clerics ; 50 native catechists for preaching to the heathen, and 150 more for religious instruction of Christians ; 6 Marist Mothers ; 12 European and 4 native nuns. There are further a seminary, a school for catechists, 8 communities of native sisters for hospital and school work, with 180 members ; 5 farms and workshops (238 inmates), 7 orphanages (389 children), 3 dispensaries.

Diocese of Osaka.—There are 49 native catechists, 14 nuns and 2 postulants ; 13 schools, with 759 pupils, and 5 orphanages.

Diocese of Hakodate.—Contains 24 catechists, 12 nuns, and 5 schools, with 536 pupils. The speciality of this mission is that it embraces that curious aboriginal race, the Ainus, of Yezo, the evangelisation of whom was seriously taken in hand by Bishop Berlioz in 1893.†

III.

And the future ? The establishment of the Japanese hierarchy may be very correctly regarded as the close of one

XIII. Felix M. Midon, M.E., Bishop of Caesaropolis, and V.A. of Central Japan, 1888 ; Bishop of Osaka, 1891 ; died 1893.

XIV. Alexandre Berlioz, M.E., Bishop of Kalnisda, V.A. and then Bishop of Hakodate, 1891.

XV. Henri Vasselon, M.E., second Bishop of Osaka, 1894.

* From Louvet, ch. xiii.

† See "A Catholic Bishop among the Ainus of Japan," by Miss E. M. Clerke, in "Illustrated Catholic Missions," vol. ix. pp. 89, 100.

epoch, and the opening of another. What are the prospects of the Catholic Church in the Japan of the twentieth century?

To guide us in forming a probable estimate of the outlook, we have the best possible sources of information; the views of the experienced missionary bishops who constitute the Japanese hierarchy, as contained in their annual reports to the society which has sent them forth to their evangelical labours. Let us then consult the "*Compte Rendu des Travaux*," published in 1894.

These reports have undoubtedly their consoling side. The number of Catholics in 1893 was 46,837, a not very large growth of 2332 since 1891 (see preceding table). During the twelve months the number of adult pagans converted and baptised had been 2834; the number of children of Christian parents baptised (representing the *natural* growth of the church) 1369. Works of education and charity show a gratifying increase. Special mention is made of the two excellent Leper Asylums of Gotemba and Kumamoto. Leprosy is still a terrible scourge of the Japanese Archipelago, and very heartrending are the accounts published from time to time by our Catholic missionaries, especially Fathers Vigroux and Corre, in the pages of "*Illustrated Catholic Missions*,"* of the wretched and abandoned victims of this fell disorder. The work among the lepers will doubtless bring with it many spiritual blessings on our missionary work, and must produce a great effect on the native mind. It is consoling, again, to read of the primitive fervour which still characterises the Christians of the Goto Islands, "the heritage of the ancient Church of Japan;" of the living zeal and self-denying labours of the Catechists of Oshima; and of the great hopes entertained of the future conversion of the Ainus, whom Father Rousseau finds "docile, sympathetic and humble," their chief defects being excessive timidity, and—alas!—the love of intoxicating drink.

But it is useless to deny that there are many dark clouds looming over the future of Japanese Catholicity. The era of actual persecution is over,† but it may well be doubted whether

* See, especially, vol. iv. p. 176; vol. vi. p. 48; vol. vii. p. 103; vol. ix. pp. 70, 135.

† Strangely enough, however, even at the present day, "our missionaries

the dangers that seem to threaten are not more formidable than the sword and fire of the persecutor. The bishops' reports are full of these perils. The Archbishop of Tokyo enumerates four agencies at work which impede the advance of Catholicity; these are, the active hostility of the bonzes, the antagonism of the sects, political agitation and the growing dislike of foreigners, and chiefly the Anti-Catholic press. Two of these agencies deserve a word of fuller explanation. Since Japan was opened to foreign intercourse a very large number of missions have been founded by various European and American sects. The best account of these will be found in Mr. Cobbold's extremely interesting little book "Religion in Japan," which deserves commendation for its general fairness and for the appreciative manner in which it treats our Catholic missions, both ancient and modern. The Russian Church pursues an active propaganda, has a fine cathedral at Tokyo, and claims a total membership of over 20,000, divided into 219 congregations. The number of adult baptisms for 1892 is given as 952; and the proximity of Russian Asia to Japan is highly favourable to this mission. The various Protestant missions are so numerous as to be confusing. The Americans were first in the field, having begun work in 1859. Three of these missions, viz., those of the American Episcopal Church, the Church of England, and the English Church in Canada, have formed a kind of alliance, holding biennial synods, under the general title of "Nippon Sei Kokwai," or "Church of Japan." The total membership of this group is stated to be 4300, of whom 3000 belong to the Anglican Church (represented by both the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel). There are three or four American and English bishops. Another amalgamation of religious bodies is that entitled "The Church of Christ in Japan," made up of several American sects and the United Presbyterians of Scotland, claiming a membership of 11,190. Then there are the "Kumi-ai Churches"—i.e., the Congregationalists—with a total of 10,700. Lastly, there are a number of *disjecta membra*, such as American and Canadian Methodists, Baptists, Swiss Pro-

are allowed to reside in the interior of Japan only on sufferance and as travellers. The passports issued for this purpose have to be renewed half-yearly" ("Compte Rendu des Travaux," p. 94).

testants, American Friends, Scandinavian Church, and Unitarians, totalling about 8460. This would raise the sum total of Protestant sects of all denominations to about 34,650 according to their own statistics.

Now, even if all these discordant sects displayed no hostility to the work of the Catholic Church, it cannot be doubted that the spectacle of the disintegration of the Christian name and the contradictory nature of their respective teachings must produce the worse possible effect upon the keen and intelligent mind of the Japanese, and must afford a powerful argument to the bonzes in comparing Christianity unfavourably with Buddhism; nor are they slow to avail themselves of so formidable a weapon. Miss Bickersteth (daughter of the Anglican bishop) in her book "Japan as We Saw It" (1893), quoted by Mr. Cobbold does not fail to remark this :

It was impossible not to be struck [she says] with the present complication of religious matters in the country as compared with the days of Xavier The divisions of Christendom are nowhere more evident than in its foreign missions to an intellectual people like the Japanese. The Greek, the Roman, the Anglican Churches, the endless "splits" of Nonconformity must and do present to the Japanese mind a bewildering selection of possibilities in religious truth.

In connection with this, Mr. Cobbold comments strongly on the disastrous "trimming" in formulæ, chiefly with reference to the Divinity of Christ, practised by some of the Nonconformist sects, and which he calls "full of painful significance."* The same writer perceives that the married missionary of the sects is specially unsuited to Japan as to other Eastern fields,† and certainly cannot tend to their Christianisation. It will be evident, therefore, that the advent of all these sects has rendered the work of the Catholic missionaries far more arduous and precarious.

An Anti-Catholic press is quite a new element of difficulty to cope with :

The great means [writes M. Ligneul], the principal means employed by the sectaries and by enemies of all kinds and all shades against the propagation of Christianity is the Press. The Press is nowadays, at least as much as in Europe, the real power. Everybody reads, and each one,

* Cobbold, p. 106.

† *Ibid.* p. 111.

especially since the establishment of constitutional government, pretends more than ever before to judge of everything for himself.*

Some remarkable statistics regarding the Japanese press are given by Archbishop Osof. In 1892, the number of books published in Japan was 20,647, of which 7334 were new works and the rest translations or re-editions. Of newspapers, there were 792, and of these 69 were religious, issuing a total of 1,837,000 numbers. Now the largest proportion of these works and papers were *Buddhist*. The Protestants have 22 papers or other periodicals, and large numbers of books; the catalogues of two Tokyo booksellers mentions 600 of all sizes and prices. The Russians issue a fortnightly periodical of 32 pages. And the Catholics? For some time they issued a small Catholic paper of only 18 pages, but in only 440 copies, and for want of support even this tiny venture had to be stopped last year! It appears to us that what is most urgently needed is a Japanese Catholic Truth Society!

The great event of last year was the issue of an Anti-Christian work by one Inoue Tetsujiro, a professor of the Imperial University, who had studied at the University of Berlin, whence he returned with the degree of Ph.D. and a knowledge of three European languages. It has been his endeavour to rehabilitate Buddhist pantheism by clothing it in the garb of German rationalistic philosophy. The book is written in a very attractive, almost irresistible style; the high reputation of its author for learning secured him at once a hearing, and in a few weeks the book had an immense success. Its main thesis is that Christianity is contrary to the welfare of the Japanese State and family. The true religion of Japan is patriotism. Christianity is Anti-Japanese. The writer dishes up all kinds of old arguments: the decadence of Catholic nations in Europe, and the contempt of the educated classes for Catholicism; the alleged incompatibility of its teachings with the results of experimental science; the intellectual inferiority of the clergy; the moral corruption of Europe, in spite of its profession of Christianity; the absence of patriotic teaching in the Gospel, the apparent opposition of some of its doctrines to family duties; even the Inquisition

* "Compte Rendu," p. 38.

and Galileo find their place among the two hundred objections piled up together with little or no attempt at proof, but in eloquent language, and all leading to the same conclusion—"Christianity is contrary to the welfare of country and home." In the present disposition of the Japanese mind, one can easily understand the phenomenal success of this book, which was soon followed by two others of a like nature; and doubtless others will yet appear. The missionary quoted above, M. Ligneul, did not delay in producing a reply to this pernicious work, the refutation of which is by no means difficult. The first volume of this reply was already printed, and great good was anticipated from its appearance. According to Japanese law, however, before a book can be issued from the press, two copies must be deposited at the Ministry of the Interior. This was done by M. Ligneul, and the very day before his book was to be published, a Ministerial decree prohibited its issue on the ground that "it menaced the public peace!" The impression produced was extremely painful. "On the one hand," writes the Archbishop, "we see Christianity publicly and very violently attacked, on the other we are placed in the impossibility of publishing a reply. It is very hard! However," his Grace adds, "there is hope that some good may yet result." Nearly all the newspapers published the official censure. The book of M. Ligneul has thereby already gained a certain notoriety, and is being widely asked for. It is expected that it may be so modified in parts that governmental susceptibilities will no longer be offended, and if finally issued its success seems guaranteed beforehand. Please God that these expectations may be realised.

But there is a factor in the life and development of the Japanese nation deeper than any of those yet referred to, and which in the long run threatens to be more dangerous to the Church than any other. This is the ever-growing spirit of materialism and indifferentism, lamented by almost every one of the missionaries.

Our readers will scarce need to be reminded of the extraordinary and probably unprecedented change which has come over the political and social life of Japan during the reign of the present Mikado. That change can best be expressed as the "Europeanisation" of Japan. Western civilisation has

been taken over *en bloc*, and, without any transition, the quaint Japan of the Shoguns and the daimyos, with their strange costumes, grotesque armour, and half-barbarous system of feudal aristocracy, has been transformed into a modern constitutional kingdom, with its Houses of Parliament and responsible Ministry, its latest Parisian or London fashions, its railways, telegraphs, bicycles, machinery, universities, learned societies, newspapers, and all the other paraphernalia of our so-called "civilisation." The present war has shown how in the matter of armaments and military organisation, in iron-clads, torpedo boats and the whole organisation of army and navy, Japan can well-nigh claim to rank among the Great Powers of the day. Unfortunately this civilisation thus suddenly thrust upon the Japanese people is of a purely materialistic nature. As is the case in India, European education, the spirit of "corrosive criticism," has shattered the beliefs of the ancient religions of the country, whose puerilities and superstitions have become only too apparent to more enlightened minds, and have substituted no form of religious belief in their place. The result is a blank scepticism, a purely negative rationalism. This result is well expressed in a passage quoted by Mr. Cobbold :

A dull apathy as regards religion has settled down upon the educated classes of Japan. The gods of heathenism have crumbled to nothing before modern science and civilisation, and the glimmer of light and truth to which they pointed has gone as well.*

This is the cry of all the missionaries :

The characteristic note of the period we are passing through [writes M. Bulet] is, if I am mistaken, a real religious indifference, which is more difficult to overcome than the ancient hostility which made martyrs.†

The Bishop of Nagasaki, Mgr. Cousin, enumerates as the chief obstacle to be encountered

the ever-growing indifference of the population in regard to religious matters. This indifference is produced by books, newspapers, the official education, the thirst for material well-being for which the extension of commerce and relations with the outer world have opened up new resources.‡

* "Religion in Japan," p. 109.

† "Compte Rendu," p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 58.

The Bishop of Osaka enumerates the difficulties of his ministry, and among them "the general spirit of the people, a spirit which is intelligent, open, supple, but completely absorbed by politics and the fever of material progress." * At Miyazu, we read, "the opening of a commercial port and that of a naval port at Maizuru have so pre-occupied men's minds, that they can find neither time nor disposition to study a foreign religion." †

The sad results of this state of things are visible on every page of the report. There is an actual slackening in the tide of conversions, and a falling off among the Christians themselves. "Nearly all the missionaries," reports Archbishop Osof, "complain of a want in their Christians, the absence of zeal to propagate their religion around them." ‡ M. Steichen, writing of his district of Shizuoka, declares

This year has been the most painful of my life. To judge by the number of baptisms I have to report, one might doubt of the zeal of my five catechists. Nothing could be more unjust. . . . St. Paul (2 Tim. iv.) has well described the state of my district: "There shall be a time when they will not endure sound doctrine, but will turn away their hearing from the truth, and will be turned unto fables." §

At Matsumoto, M. Drouart deplores the stationary state of the Christianity, in spite of the labours of his predecessors and himself. || In the archdiocese the boarding-schools for girls, in spite of the unbounded devotedness of the nuns, do not increase; the number of elementary schools and pupils has slightly decreased. ¶ With the consoling exception of Oshima, the Bishop of Nagasaki does not foresee anywhere in his diocese any considerable movement of conversions. ** At Yamagata, "some thirty catechumens have fallen away during the year, under the influence of political excitement and the revulsion of feeling against foreigners." ††

But we have quoted enough to convince our readers of the great dangers which threaten the future of the Church in Japan, all the more alarming, because far more subtle and insidious, than all the ferocious cruelties of Hideyoshi, and

* "Compte Rendu," p. 74.

‡ P. 44.

¶ P. 54.

§ P. 49.

** P. 59.

† P. 78.

|| P. 51.

†† P. 95.

Ieyasu, and their successors. The devoted pastors of the Church are, thank God, fully alive to the signs of the times, as their own words prove. Dark as the outlook may be in many respects, terrible as is the struggle before them—for they may truly say “our wrestling is not with flesh and blood,” but with the spirit of worldliness and infidelity—we still feel encouraged to hopes of ultimate triumph. All the roseate expectations of 1865, and still more of 1891, are probably not to be realised so soon; but it seems almost a want of faith to doubt that the prayers and groans of St. Francis Xavier, and the blood of so many martyrs, known and unknown, poured forth like water during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will, in God's own good time, bear a glorious harvest in the century that is about to dawn. *Fiat, fiat!*

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH IN KOREA.

1. *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée.* Par CHARLES DALLET. Paris : Victor Palmé. 1874.
2. *Problems of the Far East.* By The Hon. G. CURZON. London : Longmans. 1894.
3. *Corea.* By A. HENRY SAVAGE-LANDOR. London : W. Heinemann. 1895.

THE sanguinary stress of conflict is shaping for their future destinies the peoples of the twilight lands that have nodded and drowsed for centuries on the edge of dawn. The deadly grapple of races will supply the sudden shock requisite to cause the crystallisation of the hitherto inert human atoms into new social forms, waking the uttermost East from the cataleptic trance of ages, with throes as of a new birth. Of the three kingdoms whose fate is involved in the present war between China and Japan, Korea, the coveted prize of the rival belligerents, is the one which has maintained down to the latest date the policy of rigid seclusion once common to all. Thus while China has been compelled for more than fifty years to tolerate the presence of the hated foreigner, forced on her by the result of the war of 1842, it was only in 1876 that Korea concluded the first commercial treaty with Japan, and in 1883 that Englishmen obtained a footing in the country, Seoul (pronounced Sowl), with its port Chemulpo and those of Fusan and Gensan, being thrown open to commerce as Treaty ports.

Nor was the Hermit Kingdom more hospitably disposed towards its Eastern neighbours than to the enterprising visitor from distant Europe, for the entry of Chinese and Japanese intruders was no less rigorously prohibited and sedulously guarded against. No communication was permitted between ships and the shore, Korean boats acting as intermediaries in any necessary interchange of commodities, while shipwrecked crews were kept in close custody and sent home as prisoners. Still more assiduously was the land frontier protected against

unauthorised incursions. Here Korea was cut off from contact with China and Manchuria by a desolate march with an area of close upon 10,000 square miles, in which habitation and cultivation were forbidden under pain of death. The region thus emptied of peaceable inhabitants became the happy hunting-ground of criminals, brigands, and desperadoes, whose possession of it was contested only by tigers, leopards, and other wild beasts, forming an equally efficacious frontier guard. That the legal restrictions on the population of this waste are, however, beginning to fall into abeyance, and its bounds to be encroached upon from either side, is shown in the latest Chinese maps, which mark on it two settlements called respectively the "Long" and the "Short Bazaar." Only once a year, and but for a few hours, is the barrier lifted. A fair is then held at two points, Pienmien, called The Gate of Korea, near the Chinese town of Fen-hoangchen, and a corresponding village on the Manchurian march, in the extreme north of the peninsula. Chinese merchants are allowed to enter with their wares on these occasions, when a scene of extraordinary animation ensues, all the more lively from its brief term. Time in this case is indeed money, if not life as well, for no sooner is the regulation period over than the visitors have to pack up their goods in hot haste, in order to fly before the Korean police who chase them at full speed across the border. Thus hunted like wild beasts, they disappear into the great forest which girdles the frontier on the north for a distance of sixty leagues from east to west.

The only other mode of intercourse which existed between Korea and the outer world before the opening of the Treaty ports, was the embassy despatched annually to China, in acknowledgment of the suzerainty of that Power. The tribute sent consists of 100 ounces of gold, 1000 ounces of silver, rice, mats, paper, skins, &c., the calendar for the year computed in China being received in return, less as a gift than as a token of inferiority. Through this indirect and circuitous channel only did foreign ideas as represented in China filter into the closely guarded sanctuary of the Korean kingdom. Some practical innovations too have reached it in the same fashion. The seed of the cotton-plant, for instance, the export of which was forbidden by China, was smuggled across the

frontier some 500 years ago by one of the Korean envoys, who concealed three grains in the quill of his pen. It now furnishes the universal clothing of the people, never exchanged even in winter for any heavier material.

But still more momentous than this sumptuary revolution was the change wrought by germs of another sort introduced in the same way.

Although the conversion of the first Koreans to Christianity dates from the invasion of their country in 1592-94, by the Japanese adventurer, Taikosama, who overran it with an army of 200,000 men, its adoption, confined to the captives he carried back with him, was productive of no permanent effect. They gave, however, an earnest of future national steadfastness in the faith by contributing to swell the ranks of the Japanese Martyrs slain in the subsequent persecution, and of the fifty-two who suffered on September 22, 1622, five were Koreans. Another of that nationality, named Caio, had a singular history, as he may be said to have become a Christian in heart before he had ever heard the name. His aspiration after virtue drove him to retire into a solitude where he led a life of penance in the spirit of the hermits of the Thebaid, and here he was visited by the vision of a majestic figure with the promise that his desire of truth should be gratified when within a year he should cross the sea. In his captivity to the Japanese the latter part of the prediction was accomplished, while the wreck of the vessel conveying him set him free to seek the realisation of its earlier portion. Convinced at first that he had secured it in a monastery of bonzes, he soon found that the life led there fell very far short of his ideal, and fled from it on a further quest. A Christian encountered in his wanderings, and made the confidant of his aims, led him to the Jesuits, who found him ready for immediate baptism, and a life of the most exalted virtue, especially signalised by devotion to lepers, received a fiery crown in his martyrdom at Nagasaki on November 5, 1624.

These precursors of Korean Christianity left no visible mark on the history of their country, and nearly two centuries were yet to elapse before the first glimmering of the world's morning star broke on the Land of Morning. The strange and indirect fashion in which this came to pass is without a

parallel in the history of the Church. Through the annual embassy to Peking, a vague knowledge of the writings of the Jesuits then established there became gradually diffused, with that of other foreign curiosities, and they were noticed in the works of some Korean philosophers of the eighteenth century, who found in their tenets analogies to those of Buddha and Confucius. Tradition says that thus imperfectly known they made a convert in a pious nobleman who, having studied them about the year 1770, practised as far as he could all they enjoined, even to the sanctification of every seventh day by its dedication to religious duties alone. At the end of thirteen years, passed in a mountain solitude, whither he had retired in order to lead a contemplative life, he died, without having received any other baptism than that of desire. He had no disciples or imitators, but his example may not have been without its influence on others. The next link in the chain of events was a man like him of noble family, and of extraordinary endowments mental and physical, surnamed Piek-i. Of giant stature, and such abnormal muscular strength that he could lift a weight of 100 lbs. with one hand, his eloquence was compared to the flow of a river, while his capacity for learning resembled the omnivorous insatiability of the ocean. At a conclave of philosophers who had retired to a lonely turret to hold a ten-days' tournament of discussion on a mountain, the Christian writings on religion came under his notice and at once commanded his approval. His passionate desire for the acquisition of other similar books in order to perfect his incomplete knowledge of the subject, was only gratified at the end of several years, when, in the winter of 1783, the annual embassy to China included among its members the father of one of his intimate friends, who was allowed to accompany it in an unofficial capacity. Charged with injunctions to carry out a mission of inquiry, and filled with fervour by the exhortations of Piek-i, he sought and found the Christian Bishop, Alexander de Govea, and was instructed and baptized by the name of Peter, in the hope that he might be the foundation-stone of the Korean Church. He took back with him on his return not only books, pictures, and sacred images, but the more precious treasure of the sacrament of baptism, which he was instructed to administer to others. Piek-i, in

receiving it, took the name of John Baptist, as the Precursor of Christianity in Korea, and on another young man the name of Francis Xavier was conferred. These three zealous neophytes, of whom two, sad to say, fell away later on, became the apostles of their country, evangelising it far and wide. Ignorant of the true nature of Holy Orders, they even assumed sacerdotal functions, and, in all good faith, organised themselves into an elective hierarchy. Doubts having later suggested themselves as to the efficacy of their ministrations, they despatched a neophyte in the disguise of a merchant with the embassy to Peking in 1789, to consult the Bishop on this and on other doubtful points, such as ancestor worship and similar native superstitions which they had continued to practise. To all these questions the reply was, as may be imagined, a negative one, and the self-constituted hierarchy proceeded to dissolve itself forthwith. But the abandonment by the Korean Christians of all their traditional rites as incompatible with their new creed was not so easily accepted, and many apostatised in preference. It is obvious that the rapid propagation of Christianity had in the first instance been due to the imperfection with which it was known, and the consequent idea of it as a system which could be grafted on the one already prevailing without detriment to the claims of either. Here, as in China, the worship of ancestors, deeply rooted in native habits of thought as the foundation not only of the religious feeling, but of the social fabric of the country, proved the great obstacle to its universal adoption, and the main cause of the fierce hostility it evoked.

At this point then begins the first systematic persecution, although Korea had already had its first martyr in the person of an interpreter, baptized by the name of Thomas, whose death in 1785 was intended as a warning and an example to others. It had, on the contrary, the directly opposite effect of stimulating them to show a like constancy in suffering for their faith. A noble and distinguished convert named Paul, and his cousin James, were the first to follow in his footsteps. The death, in 1791, of the mother of the one and aunt of the other, was the occasion when the divergence between Christian and pagan practice first became apparent in their refusal to

perform the sacrifices prescribed by usage on such occasions. For this crime, as it was held by native opinion, combined with the added one of destroying or concealing the tablets of their ancestors, heretofore the objects of idolatrous worship, they were arrested and subjected to a series of severe interrogatories, of which the record by Paul himself has been preserved. The King, though most reluctant to sign the decree for their execution, did so under pressure from his Minister, and it took place on December 8th, 1791.

Amid many glorious examples of constancy under torments and death, there were also numerous apostasies, and among these that of Francis Xavier, one of the first apostles of the faith. His recantation, wrung from him by filial piety and the desire to see his aged mother in the belief that her death was imminent, did not avail to save his life. As he died of the sufferings previously undergone, it may well have been that his mind was so unhinged by the enfeeblement of the frame as to destroy full responsibility for the act by which he forfeited the martyr's crown, while undergoing the martyr's fate. Persecution had its usual effect in increasing the number of conversions, and within ten years of the baptism of the first catechumen in Pekin, there were in Korea 4000 Christians, who had never seen a priest or assisted at any function of religion.

Efforts had not been wanting on their part to obtain from Pekin a shepherd for their little flock, and one despatched by Bishop Govea had actually reached the frontier, but had to return to China in consequence of the inability of the Korean Christians, then undergoing persecution, to carry out their part of the programme by meeting him on his arrival. A second attempt in 1794 was more successful, for Father Tsiou, a Chinese priest, entered Korea on December 23rd of that year, and reached its capital a few weeks later. As Mass was celebrated there by him for the first time on Easter Sunday, 1795, we have just reached the centenary of that event.

The numbers of those who flocked to his ministrations rendered the preservation of the due amount of secrecy for any length of time an impossibility, and his presence was betrayed by an informer at the end of a few months. Pursued by the emissaries of the law, he had barely time to fly before they

reached his abode, whence his escape was assisted by the generous stratagem of his host, Matthias Tsoi, in personating him. The fact that the priest wore a beard, while he was smooth-shaven, led to the detection of the ruse as soon as he was brought before the authorities, and he expiated with his life his refusal to give any information as to the hiding-place of his late guest. He was put to death with two companions on June 28th, 1795, while five other Christians arrested at the same time were released after suffering with no less constancy a fortnight's torture and imprisonment.

The prolongation of Father Tsiou's life and apostolate for three years more was due to the zeal and devotion of a pious female convert of noble birth named Colomba. The law conferring inviolability from entry under any pretext on the houses of the nobility, contributed to his safety within doors, while the Korean custom prescribing for mourners the disguise of a hat entirely covering their heads and faces, screened him from detection or observation when he went abroad. He was thus able to visit even distant provinces in comparative safety, affording the Christian communities scattered through the country the benefit of his ministrations. Domestic politics in Korea, too, were favourable to the new religion, as it numbered many converts among the section of the nobility which exercised most influence over the King, while their hereditary opponents formed the party of the Queen Regent. Hence the death of the former in 1800 was the signal for the cruel persecution inaugurated by an edict of extermination early in the ensuing year. The leading batch of martyrs, consisting of several of the nobility, included Peter, the herald of the faith in Korea, and its first baptized Christian. Notwithstanding his previous abjuration, in which he unhappily persisted to the end, "he marched to death (says Père Dallet) with the martyrs, yet was not a martyr, was beheaded as a Christian, yet died a renegade."

The time had come too when the shepherd was called upon to lay down his life for his flock. Father Tsiou had determined to take refuge for a time in China, and was near the frontier, when he returned to the capital in obedience to a mysterious impulse like that which recalled Peter to Rome when leaving it by the Appian Way. His hiding-place, which Colomba and

her step-son refused under torture to betray, was revealed by a slave, and after a long trial he was beheaded on May 31st, 1801. Before his death he predicted the return of Christian priests after the lapse of thirty years, a prophecy substantially though not accurately realised, and also great misfortunes to the country at the end of ten years. Tradition asserts that for the five days and nights during which his remains were left on the scene of his execution, luminous haloes or rainbows were seen to surround them, and similar phenomena were reported in the case of many other Korean martyrs. On July 3rd, in violation of the law exempting women from all criminal proceedings except for high treason, Colomba was put to death with four female companions, nor did the carnage cease until 300 Christians had fallen victims to it in the capital alone.

The persecution of 1801 divides the early history of the Church in Korea into two distinct periods, the first, one of growth and development, the second one, of hidden existence and obscurity with intermittent persecution. One such outbreak of fanatical ferocity occurred in 1815, another in 1827, each with its quota both of martyrdoms and apostasies. Frequent and moving appeals were made in the meantime both to the Bishop of Peking and to the Pope for the despatch of missionaries to Korea, but neither was at the time in a position to accede to the request. It was not till 1831 that it was at last recognised as within the fold of the Church by being created a Vicariate Apostolic, and confided to the charge of Mgr. Brugnières, of the "*Missions Etrangères*," just consecrated as coadjutor of the Vicar Apostolic of Siam. Full of zeal, he started in 1832 by way of Manila for the mission he did not live to reach. After a most adventurous overland journey through China in disguise, he died on the Manchurian frontier in October 1835, while waiting there for a chance of penetrating into the hermetically sealed peninsula beyond. His companion, Père Mauband, succeeded in running the blockade in the ensuing January, crossing the triple branches of the dividing stream on the ice, and entering the first Korean town by an aqueduct in order to avoid the scrutiny of the guards at the gates. He was joined at Seoul by a fresh candidate for martyrdom, Père Chastan, and later on by Mgr. Imbert, the new Vicar-Apostolic, who crossed the frontier on December 18th, 1837. The

ministrations of the heroic band were so successful that within two years from his arrival the number of Christians had grown from 6000 to 9000. The three missionaries fell victims to the furious persecution of 1839, in which 70 martyrs were decapitated, and 60 were strangled in prison or died of their wounds, some of the sufferers being no more than twelve or thirteen years of age.

Not till 1845 did Mgr. Ferréol, the next Vicar-Apostolic, enter Korea, whose threshold he had actually reached five years earlier, but had been driven back thence to Macao. His faithful disciple and companion, Andrew Kim, the first Korean priest, ordained by him at Shanghai, was martyred on September 16th, 1846, after a life of toil and adventure, the narration of which extorted an exclamation of pity and admiration even from his judges. His fellow-student, Thomas Tchoi, shared the fortunes of a fresh missionary recruit, Father Maistre, who spent ten years in his frustrated endeavours to break through the barriers hedging in the Hermit Kingdom. After having twice reached its shores, and been obliged to put back to Shanghai, he in 1852 succeeded in effecting a landing under cover of the night, and in making his way undetected to the capital, where his arrival was a great surprise to his colleagues.

The twenty years of comparative peace that succeeded were the most flourishing epoch of the Korean Church. At the end of that time it numbered 25,000 Christians, 2 bishops, 10 missionaries, and a seminary containing several native ecclesiastical students for the priesthood. But this truce with fanaticism was but the lull that precedes the tempest, which early in 1866 broke upon the Christian community with unexampled fury. On March 8th, Mgr. Berneux the Vicar-Apostolic was beheaded with three companions; before the end of the month five other priests had laid down their lives for their faith, and the three missionaries who survived were obliged to fly the country. A general massacre followed, in which it was reckoned from subsequent calculations, that 10,000 perished, including, with those actually slain, the victims of hardships and privations endured in the flight to the mountains which formed their only refuge. Thus when one of the fugitive missionaries returned shortly afterwards, he found but a reduced and scattered flock to receive his ministrations. Its re-organisation was the task

of Mgr. Ridel, the new Vicar-Apostolic, who sent fresh missionaries in 1876, and shortly after arrived himself to take up the task of his martyred predecessor. His own fate fell but little short of a similar consummation, since after his arrest in 1878, he endured for months the noisome horrors of a Korean dungeon, until, on the intervention of the French Ambassador in Peking, his release was demanded and obtained by the Chinese Government.

But the time had nearly come when the barriers hedging round the long-forbidden land were to be broken down by the imperative advance of Western ideas. The concession of Treaty rights to Japan was followed by their extension to European Powers, and missionaries were not slow to take advantage of the comparative facilities thus opened up to them. Although toleration has not been proclaimed, and the decrees of persecution are still nominally in force, they remained practically in abeyance, and until the outbreak of the present unhappy war, the Christian propaganda had continued to make uninterrupted progress. A letter from Mgr. Mutel, the present Vicar-Apostolic, published in "*Illustrated Catholic Missions*" for May 1894, gives the number of Christians, which has doubled during the last ten years, as 20,840, and of adult baptisms for the year as 1443. The wants of some 400 scattered Christian communities were attended to by 26 priests with 23 mission stations, and the seminary which had been built to supply the pressing need of a native clergy, contained 36 students. A Cathedral dedicated in honour of the Immaculate Conception, of which the first stone had been laid on May 8th, 1892, was rising above the ground, as a visible sign of the freedom of conscience achieved at last.

Unfortunately these bright prospects have been again overclouded by recent events, and an editorial article in the January number of the above quoted periodical, announces on the authority of Bishop Mutel a fresh persecution of Christians as a result of the hostilities between China and Japan. In a letter written from Seoul in last September he describes the sufferings of his flock and the death of Father Jozeau, one of his European priests, put to death by the Chinese in July 1894. But the principal sufferers have been the members of the isolated Christian communities in the remote provinces, of

whom some 15,000 have had to fly to the mountains, the traditional asylum of their faith, from the fury of the insurrectionary bands known as Tong-Haks, whose hostility to all foreign innovations includes European religion with Japanese commerce and colonisation. These miscreants invade the Christian villages, pillage the houses, carry off the girls, compel the neophytes by torture to surrender their property or their faith, and avow their desire of stamping out Christianity in universal massacre. Many had once more taken refuge in the mountains, and the Vicar Apostolic asks, "What will happen to these unfortunates in the depth of winter without shelter, clothes, or food?" He had judged it prudent to recall several of the missionaries to the capital, but five were, when he wrote, still scattered through the provinces. Thus this much-tried little flock is bearing its full share of suffering in the general calamity which has overtaken the Furthest East. We can only hope that so many evils may eventually be productive of good, and that the end of the struggle may be the liberation of the Korean Church not only from present persecution, but from the legal disabilities which are its legacy from the past. In reading its history we scarcely know which most to admire, the heroism of the missionaries in braving toil, torture, and death in order to bring spiritual succour to the neophytes, or the invincible tenacity with which the latter clung to religious truth even when presented to them in the most imperfect outline. Deprived for years, and decades of years, of all visible anchorage for their devotion, without priests or churches, books or forms of prayer, since the scanty writings they possessed were seized and destroyed by their persecutors, their fidelity to an almost unknown faith furnishes a unique chapter in the annals of the Church. Their state of spiritual desolation is exemplified in the touching anecdote of a poor woman, who having once heard of the prayer of the Five Wounds, yet finding herself unable to recall it to her memory, believed that her intense longing to do so was supernaturally gratified by hearing a voice recite it to her in the dead of night. The desire for further enlightenment on spiritual things was with these new converts stronger than the bodily craving for material food, while worldly advantages, rank, wealth, or power, were counted as mere dross when weighed

in the scale against it. Thus many rich and noble families fell permanently into poverty and obscurity, having voluntarily sacrificed all hereditary distinctions in order to share the hardships of the proscribed Christians in their remote retreats in the mountains. A people among whom the capacity for such self-abnegation in the cause of truth is rather ordinary than exceptional, have given proof of the possession of splendid qualities, however rude and barbarous their present social condition may seem in the eyes of critical Europeans.

The two most recent travellers in Korea are those whose works have been prefixed to this article. They form together a very complete picture of the country, since Mr. Savage-Landor's lively sketches of Korean character and usages exactly supplement Mr. Curzon's masterly study of the past, present, and future of the little kingdom.

Closely resembling Italy in its geographical situation, Korea with its area of 80,000 to 90,000 square miles, approaches it in size sufficiently nearly to carry out the parallel. The peninsula of the Sea of Japan resembles in its rocky skeleton, too, that of the Mediterranean, being traversed from end to end by a continuous chain of mountains. The Korean Apennines form the background of the eastern coast, their spurs in many places running down to the sea, and enclosing a few good harbours, which, unlike the ports further north, are open all the year round. The shallow inlets on the low western shore are less accessible, since they are approached through the maze of islands forming the Korean Archipelago.

The population, approximately estimated at about eleven millions, are of a Mongolian race intermediate between the Tartars and Japanese, but individuals vary much both in type and colour. The division between the several grades of the nobility and the lower orders is very marked, and the proverb *noblesse oblige* receives nowhere a stricter interpretation, since the members of the former are inhibited by usage from engaging in any menial or industrial occupation.

The system of government is most oppressive, as the official hierarchy, like that of China, subsists on a graduated series of "squeezes," of which the ultimate burden falls on the poor. The King, nominally absolute, has little real authority, and lives secluded in his palace, while the Queen is said to have a

very large voice in determining his exercise of that little. All sorts of vexatious and tyrannical restrictions are imposed upon agriculture and production. The breeding of sheep and goats, for instance, is prohibited, as they are reserved for special sacrifices; as is likewise, for no known reason, the cultivation of the potato, sometimes grown secretly by the Christians as a treat for the missionaries. The growth of tobacco, first introduced by the Japanese in their invasion 300 years ago, has been much extended by the industry of the Catholic villagers, since it thrives in the mountain districts whither they were driven for refuge. Rice, millet, beans and buckwheat are the staple crops, but the most valuable product of the soil is ginseng, the root of a species of ivywort, prized as the most powerful tonic in the Chinese pharmacopœia. Found wild in the forests of Northern Korea, it is also artificially cultivated under screens, and furnishes, in addition to the legitimate export through the company, which pays from £80,000 to £100,000 a year for its monopoly, a contraband trade to almost an equal extent. Cotton is also largely grown in some provinces, an area of nearly a million acres being devoted to its cultivation. It supplies the winter and summer attire of the white-robed population, whose heavily wadded garments are doubtless a sufficient protection against cold.

Paper takes the place of other materials for many household purposes. When waterproofed by oiling, it is used for windows, carpets, and umbrellas. The Korean form of the latter has much to recommend it, as it folds up like a fan when not used, and is simply placed on the hat like an extinguisher when in use, leaving the hands free for other occupations. Domestic architecture is of the most primitive kind. The houses, built of mud and stone, straw-thatched or roofed with tiles or plaster, never rise to the altitude of a second storey, and contain only a few small and scantily furnished rooms. They are heated by an oven underneath, and all their inmates sleep on the floor with wooden pillows under their heads, the better classes only using in addition a very slight mattress. The principal street of Seoul is extravagantly wide, but is contracted by a double row of temporary shanties, which are all pulled down and cleared away when the King makes his annual progress through the city. The lesser streets are

narrow winding alleys, rendered pestiferous by open ditches which receive the entire drainage of the houses. The women of the upper classes are strictly secluded, and every woman has the right of entry into any house as a refuge, if she chance to meet a man, more especially a foreigner, in the less frequented streets. All men, on the other hand, are forbidden to appear in the streets from an hour after sunset, when the women may traverse them freely if they choose to brave the chance of meeting a tiger on the prowl. There are exceptions for some festive seasons—such as “the night of crossing the bridges,” when the whole population takes part in the mild excitement of a moonlight promenade. The fashionable pastime on these occasions is not without its dangers, as the bridges in question are without any parapet to fence their narrow footways of slippery stones. The Korean capacity for food is vast, and at the heaviest meal which is taken late in the day, the consumption of underdone beef and pork is worthy of feeding time at the Zoological Gardens. The richer classes, according to Mr. Savage-Landor, pass their time almost entirely in eating and sleeping. Of their active amusements hawking and archery are the chief, while kite-flying is carried to such a point of perfection as to be quite a fine art.

The various classes of artisans are organised in guilds, one of the most powerful of which is that of the *mapu*, drivers of beasts of burden, as they can paralyse all traffic by a strike. The rival guilds occasionally quarrel among themselves, and fight out their differences in regular pitched battles. In a Homeric encounter of this kind, which took place in the neighbourhood of Seoul during Mr. Savage-Landor's stay, between the butchers and plasterers of the city, 1800 men fought for several consecutive days with stones and knives, leaving many dead upon the field. The police attend these combats in the capacity of spectators, and the King is said to interest himself much in their result, news of which is conveyed to the palace either by the victors or by the officials.

They are sanctioned by law during the first fortnight of the year, when all quarrels whether between individuals or associations, are decided by blows, and the most violent interchange of fisticuffs is not regarded as a breach of the peace. Grudges treasured up for the year, find vent in these golden days of

vengeance, creditors go in chase of their debtors, the defrauded of the fraudulent, the wronged of the wrongdoer, and every street resounds with blows and buffets. Women are not behindhand in venting their spleen one upon another, and whole families sometimes enter the lists against other families with whom they are at feud. It is curious that in some recently published notes of travel by Montesquieu, he speaks of a similar custom having formerly prevailed in Florence, where once a year people pommelled each other freely. The custom, says the author of the "*Esprit des Lois*," was for those who harboured resentments to wait for the day of the game, in order to exchange a sound drubbing, when, honour being satisfied, they were friends again.

The native religion of Korea consists of the primitive superstitions current among races in a much lower stage of civilisation. Buddhism received its deathblow when, in consequence of the political intrigues of the bonzes, they were forbidden to enter the gates of any Korean city. The people have since relapsed into the earlier belief in good and evil spirits, inhabiting the elements, the earth, the mountains, streams, and forests, and live in constant fear of these imaginary beings to whom disease and all misfortunes are ascribed, and to propitiate whom various forms of exorcism are practised. Sacred trees are hung, as in many widely separated countries, with coloured rags or ribbons, roofs are studded with tinkling bells, sacrifices are offered to the dead, and sorcerers and sorceresses, here as elsewhere the agents and accomplices of crime, drive a lucrative trade. The belief in ghosts is universal, and the *Psychical Society* would find much matter for investigation in the Land of the Morning Calm. Mr. Curzon has told us how the King lives in such dread of apparitions that the royal electrician is the only official whose pay is never in arrear, because he has made it known that the extinction of the light which banishes ghosts would follow. Seoul itself contains two monuments of these spiritual terrors in a pair of royal palaces abandoned to decay because of the idea that they were haunted.

The mental degradation implied in such superstitions, while difficult to reconcile with the spiritual insight shown in the eager acceptance of Christianity by a section of the same people,

accounts easily for the furious opposition its teaching has encountered. It was the conflict between aspirations after a higher ideal, however dimly shadowed forth, and the grovelling fears of minds overshadowed by generations of misbelief, which stamped on Korea the character by which it deserves to be pre-eminently known, as the Land of Martyrs.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE: THE TWO STAGES OF THEIR INTER- RELATION.

BEFORE proceeding with the exposition and argument of my first article,* it may be well to re-state the argument, and to precisely determine the point at which the exposition has arrived. The paper attempted to show, first, that neither Faith nor Reason, either here or hereafter, can ever exhaust their objects; they ever are, and ever must remain, an ever-increasing apprehension; and that hence, in proportion as they are real, and fixed on real objects, they move and grow. Next, that Revelation and a Church are practically identical, but that Revelation and Scripture are not; that the former are necessary, the latter but contingent consequences of man's creation. And again, that the relations between the necessary Church and contingent Scripture are necessarily twofold, and must ever be kept carefully distinct: Scripture *quâ* human document, and, as such, one of the several proofs of the Church's authority; Scripture *quâ* Divine Library, re-given to us as such by that authority. And the paper then began an exposition of the actual position of affairs between critics and theologians with regard to the first, pre-Catholic Faith stage, and considered successively the critics' admissions, the theologians' discriminations, and the ideal temper of study of this stage. It dealt with but the four Gospels and the main facts of our Lord's life and teaching, and left over for this second article the conclusion of the first stage: a short exposition of the state of affairs as regards the main outlines of the Old Testament literature and history; the reality of its preparatory, prophetic character; and finally, the reality of our Lord's own prophecies. It is these latter three points then which we will now consider, and this, not as objects or consequences of the Catholic Faith, but as arguments for it; not as to what the Church, rightly transcending demonstration, rightly claims

* DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1894, pp. 313-341.

from direct Catholic believers about them, but as to what we can, within the bounds of Theistic principles and of ordinary historical proof, urge upon educated contemporary Theists, as solid arguments in favour of such Christian and Catholic belief.

I.

But first, we will have a moment's halt. For have we not already got the certainty, even according to the advanced critics' admissions, of the reality and the unique grandeur of our Lord's sacred life? *Quando Christum habes, sufficit*, is surely true in criticism also; and with the Gospels, we have the primary documentary evidence for the life and doctrine of Him, whose utter uniqueness and irreplaceableness was never more apparent than after these eighteen centuries of, even yet but partial trying of Him, and the very thorough testing of every conceivable substitute.

Even Ernest Renan, sceptical even as to his own scepticism, addresses Him and says: "A thousand times more living, a thousand times more loved, since thy death than during thy passage upon earth, thou wilt become the corner-stone of humanity, to such a point, that to blot out thy name out of the world would be in very truth to shake its very foundations.* Even John Stuart Mill, who tells us of himself: "I never lost faith, for I never had it," proclaims at the end of his long life's labours: "Whatever else may be taken from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left; a unique figure, not more unlike all his predecessors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is no use to say that Christ in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. For who among his disciples or their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee, as certainly not St. Paul, whose character and idiosyncrasy were of a totally different sort; still less the early Christian writers, in whom nothing is more evident than that the good which was in them was all derived, as they always professed that it was derived, from the higher source."† Even so purely Deistic a critic as Abraham Kuenen declares: "The international religion which we call Christianity was founded, not by the Apostle Paul, but by Jesus of Nazareth, that Jesus whose person and whose teaching are sketched in the Synoptic Gospels with the closest approximation to truth." "The need of Christianity is as keen as ever. It is not for less but for more Christianity that

* "Vie de Jésus," 1864, p. 426.

† "Three Essays on Religion," 1874, p. 253.

the age cries out. Even those many who do not identify Christianity with the ecclesiastical form in which they themselves profess it, and who have no confidence that the world will necessarily conform to them—even these may be at peace. The universalism of Christianity is the sheet-anchor of their hope. A history of eighteen centuries bears mighty witness to it; and the contents of its evidence and the high significance they possess are brought into the clearest light by the comparison with other religions. We have good courage then.”* Even so advanced a critic and sensitively loyal Jew as Mr. Claud Montefiore tells us: “Some of the sayings ascribed to Jesus have sunk too deep into the human heart, or, shall I say, into the spiritual consciousness of civilised mankind, to make it probable that any religion which ignores or omits them will exercise a considerable influence outside its own borders. It may be that those who dream of a prophetic Judaism, which shall be as spiritual as the religion of Jesus, and even more universal than the religion of Paul, are the victims of a delusion.”† Even so largely naturalistic a critic as Julius Wellhausen writes of our Lord’s teaching and person: “The miraculous is impossible with man, but with God it is possible. Jesus has not only assured us of this, but he has proved it in his own person. He had indeed lost his life and saved it, he could do as he would. He had escaped the bonds of human kind and the sufferings of self-seeking nature. There is in him no trace of that eagerness for action which seeks for peace in the restlessness of its own activity. The completely superworldly standpoint in which Jesus finds strength and love to devote himself to the world, has nothing extravagant about it. He is the first to know himself, not simply in moments of emotion, but in completest restfulness, the child of God; before him no one so felt or so described himself.” “Jesus not only prophesies the kingdom of God, but brings it out of its transcendence on to earth; he plants at least its germ. The new times already begin with him: the blind see, the deaf hear, the dead arise. Everywhere he found spaciousness for his soul, nowhere was he cramped by the little, much as he put forward the value of the great; this we should do, and not leave that undone. He was more than a prophet; in him the word had become flesh. The historic overweightedness, to which the Jews were succumbing, does not even touch him. A unit arises in the dreary mass, a man from among the rubbish which the dwarfs, the Rabbis, had heaped up. He upsets the accidental, the caricature, the dead, and collects the eternally valid, the human divine in the focus of his individuality. ‘Ecce homo,’ a divine wonder in this time and this environment.”‡

We might sum up the drift of these significant admissions in the words of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith, who,

* “Hibbert Lectures,” 1882, pp. 196, 297.

† *Ibid.* 1892, p. 551.

‡ “Abriss,” 1884, pp. 99, 100; “Israelitischen Jüdische Geschichte,” 1894, pp. 314-317.

on points of literary and historical criticism as "advanced" as Wellhausen himself, lived and died with a faith of splendid solidity in the reality of the Old Testament Revelation and the divinity of our Lord :

History has not taught us that there is anything in true religion to add to the New Testament. We still stand in the nineteenth century where He stood in the first, or rather He stands as high above us as He did above His disciples, the perfect Master, the Supreme Head of the fellowship of all true religion.*

II.

1. And yet, though in the Gospels, in the unique character of our Lord's Personality and Teaching, and in the effect of both upon human nature throughout the length and breadth of history, we have what are more and more felt to be the chief documents and proofs for Christianity and Christ; yet Christian Apologetic rightly refuses to abandon or ignore, even as evidences and part proofs for Christianity, the literature and history of the Old Testament, and the relations, both forwards and backwards, between it and the New. Prof. Robertson Smith but echoes the conviction of all when he says :

Christianity can never separate itself from its historical basis on the religion of Israel; the revelation of God in Christ cannot be divorced from the earlier revelation on which our Lord built. Indeed, the history of Israel, when rightly studied, is the most real and vivid of all histories, and the proofs of God's working among His people of old may still be made, what they were in time past, one of the strongest evidences of Christianity.†

Hence in our Theologies, such as Fr. Hurter's "*Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Compendium*" (ed. 1893), we get, in the introductory treatise "*Apology of the Christian Religion*," after the discussion of philosophical and New Testament history points, arguments from Old Testament history and prophecy.

2. But if there is a necessary connection and resemblance between the Old Testament and the New, and if even the former has a high apologetic value, it is equally certain that there is a profound difference between the two, and that only

* "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," ed. 1892, pp. 10, 11.

† *Ibid.* p. xi.

an ever-present and keen consciousness of this difference in this resemblance will keep the Old Testament as a prop for Christianity and not a burden. And this difference in resemblance we cannot but expect to find in the two directions of manner and of matter.

(1) As to the manner, the literary method of registration and transmission, we have already seen how the very Gospels, the very central records of the final revelation, bear unmistakeable, universally admitted traces throughout of processes as to presentation of facts, reporting of speeches, and general grouping and pragmatic selection and setting, of a kind necessary for the original apprehension and propagation of the message, primarily by Jews and for Jews, but as necessarily differing largely from our present ones. We shall expect then to find this same people requiring and applying similar methods in the registration of the previous stages of Revelation vouchsafed to it—similar as to kind, but different in degree—different in something of the proportion in which stands the perfection and finality of the New Testament Message to the imperfection and temporary *pædagogic* character of the Old Testament Dispensation. Or is it reasonable to expect as perfect a registration in Deuteronomy as in St. Luke's Gospel, or in Chronicles as in the Acts of the Apostles? perfect, I mean, according to later, New Testament standards; for that those earlier processes were as perfectly adapted to those for whom they were primarily intended as were the later processes for their particular public would not only be admitted, but would be part of the argument.

All the historical books of the Bible [says Abbé Loisy], even those of the New Testament, have been drawn up according to processes freer than those of modern historiography, and a certain liberty of interpretation is the legitimate consequence of the liberty which reigns in the composition.*

(2) As to the matter, the facts and doctrines transmitted, we have already seen how the very Gospels exhibit various aspects, and an increasing penetration and pragmatic presentation of the hidden meaning and economy of the Evangelic facts; and this though the first and the last were composed

* "Enseignement Biblique," Nov.-Dec. 1893, p. 6.

within fifty years of each other, and though they all four but present the final revelation, and its development during the first two generations. We shall expect, then, to find an analogous but indefinitely larger development running through the Old Testament. Or is it reasonable to deny this, when the development there is one of a preparatory, temporary revelation, and when it covers a period at least twenty times the length of that covered by the composition of the Gospels. From the Exodus (about 1320 B.C.)* to the final solemn proclamation of the law by Esdras (2 Esdras cc. viii.-x.) in 444 B.C., are some eight or nine centuries. Even so we omit everything pre-Mosaic or post-Esdras, and yet we get a period equal in length to that between our Lord's Ascension and St. Benedict's death (821 A.D.), or that between Pope Gregory VII., Hildebrand (1085), and Pope Leo XIII. Now, the natural presumption will be that the Law, and religion generally, were developed in the corresponding period of time among the Jews, not less, but indefinitely more, than in either of the two latter periods among Christians. And yet in Church historical development we have such dates and stages as Nicæa, 325 A.D.; and the fourth Council of the Lateran, 1215 A.D.; or again, the latter and Trent in 1563 and the Vatican Council in 1870. What corresponds to this growth, all subjective and relatively stable, among the documents and doctrines of the Old Testament, admittedly of objective growth and preliminary character? "It is from consideration derived from Catholic theology and the history of the Catholic Church, and not by copying the inferences of non-Catholics that we are to judge of the implications of any theory about the composition of the Pentateuch," says Fr. Clarke, or, indeed, as he himself shows elsewhere, about the history and doctrines of the Old Testament generally.†

3. The precise point of these two remarks is very happily illustrated by Dr. A. B. Bruce :

The Bible, instead of being a dead rule to be used mechanically, with equal value set on all its parts, is rather a living organism, which, like the butterfly, passes through various transformations before arriving at its highest and final form. Therefore, the final stage is the standard by which all is to be judged. This truth has two sides. It means, on

* So Dr. Kautzsch, "Die h. Schrift des A. T." 1894 ; Beilagen, p. 111.

† *Tablet*, March 24, 1894, p. 456 ; July 28, 1894, pp. 121-123.

the one hand, that we should find Christ in the Old Testament, as we find the butterfly in the caterpillar. But it means also, on the other hand, that we should see that the Old Testament is defective in so far as it comes short of Christ, as we see that the caterpillar is defective inasmuch as it is not yet a butterfly. Hitherto the Church has been much more alive to Christ's presence in the Old Testament than to His absence. It has indeed so read Christ into the Old Testament, that the caterpillar becomes a butterfly before the time, and all sense of development, progress, growth in revelation is destroyed.*

Our Lord Himself has told us : "The kingdom of God is as a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that are in the earth : and when it is sown, it groweth up and becometh greater than all the herbs, and shooteth out great branches, so that the birds of the air may dwell under the shadow thereof." The seed *is* not the tree, it only *becomes* the tree in time, in the course of ages. And again ; "The kingdom of God is as if a man should cast seed into the earth, and the seed should spring and grow up, first the blade, then the ear, afterwards the full corn in the ear."† First, the potent seed of Mosaism, and then the blade, so fresh and hopeful, of Prophetism, and then the hard, protective ear of Legalism, and at last the full corn, the Bread of Life, Christianity.

III.

1. Now it is in the analysis of the documents of the Old Testament literature generally, but especially those of the Law, and in the consequent modification of the traditional conception of Jewish history, that we shall specially require those general principles and considerations which made up the greater part of the first article. For it would be worse than idle to shut our eyes to the fact that the critical work of the last hundred years and more, whilst often rationalist and reckless, has not been, fortunately, altogether in vain, but has gradually settled down into soberer methods. Indeed, the storm and stress have left, as sediment, a certain number of conclusions which can only be escaped by denying altogether that restricted and preliminary right of reason in these matters which the Church

* "Apologetics," 1892, p. 325.

† Mark v. 30-32 ; 26-28.

has ever upheld against the various forms of Fideism, or again by denying the special character of all historical evidence, which of its very nature is but cumulative and probable.*

2. As to writers and books representative of the various positions that can reasonably be said to count, I will, in the following, take for the Left, Kuenen's "*Historisch-Kritische Einleitung: Hexateuch*," German translation, 1886, and his "*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*," Germ. translation, 1894; Wellhausen's "*Composition des Hexateuchs*," 1889; "*Prolegomena*," ed. 1886; and "*Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*, 1894; Cornill's "*Einleitung in das A.T.*," 1891, and C. G. Montefiore's "*Hibbert Lectures*," 1892. For the Centres, I take August Dillmann's *Commentaries on the Hexateuch*, ed. 1876, 1880, 1886; Dr. Driver's "*Introduction*," ed. 1892; Kittel's "*Geschichte der Hebräer*," 1888, 1892; Delitzsch's "*Genesis*," 1887; and König's "*Einleitung in das A. T.*" 1893. For Catholics, I take chiefly Dr. Paul Schanz in his "*Apology*," English trans-

* As to Fideism, see Dr. Hettinger's interesting classification of its four stages, as corresponding to the four stages of Rationalism, in his "*Fundamental Theologie*," 1879, vol. ii. pp. 348-9. As to historical evidence, see Père Charles de Smedt's admirable chapter, pp. 60-72, in his "*Principes de la Critique Historique*," 1883. The Encyclical "*Providentissimus Deus*" teaches that "in historical questions, such as the origin and handing down of writing, the witness of history is of primary importance"; and that "in this matter internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation" (*Tablet*, Jan. 6, 1894, pp. 9, 10). I take it that four points will here have to be borne in mind: (1) There are, then, exceptional cases in which internal evidence alone, is of value, even great value: the case of the two Isaiahs would appear to be one of these exceptions. (2) The external evidence here demanded is clearly not necessarily external to the Bible, but only formal attestation external to the particular book or document in question—*e.g.*, the all-important cc. xxii. xxiii. of 3 Kings, from which all moderate critics begin their Pentateuchal investigations, is the most reliable and earliest piece of purely external positive evidence extant for the date and composition of our present book of Deuteronomy, and, inferentially, of the constituents of the four other books; whereas the important cc. xlv. -xliv. of Ecclesiasticus furnish us with weighty external negative evidence as regards the date of our present book of Daniel. (3) No privileged position is being claimed for the Bible in this matter; we are but being warned not to be misled into applying to it kinds or degrees of evidence which would be eschewed by sober historians in other, classical or modern history. Such rules and examples, then, as are contained in August Boeckh's "*Encyclopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften*," ed. 1836, in his noble chapter, "*Theorie der Kritik*," pp. 169-254, exclusively occupied as it is with classical literature and history, are what we are bid study and cautiously apply. (4) Such an interpretation would still leave the Encyclical in full operation against such subjective criticism as Maurice Verne's or Ernest Havet's, indeed against all methods which do not give the preference to historical testimony, wherever this is sufficiently primitive to have real cogency. See the Dominican Père Lagrange's excellent remarks, "*À propos de l'Encyclique 'Providentissimus'*," "*Revue Biblique*," January 1895.

lation, 1891; Abbé Loisy in his "Canon de l'Ancien Testament," 1890, and the "Enseignement Biblique," 1892, 1893, and Father Robert Clarke in the *Tablet*, February-April 1894, and *Contemporary Review*, July 1894. I deliberately pass by, on the Left, the brilliant but second-hand and quite arbitrary Renan, and the equally brilliant, untenable destructions of Maurice Verne and Ernest Havet.* Professor Robertson Smith I will largely use, but find it impossible to class him: in exteriorities he is with Wellhausen, on fundamentals he is an historical believer. As the most scholarly Catholic representatives of the ordinary traditional view I have in mind Archbishop Smith's "Pentateuch," 1868, and Bishop Haneberg's "Geschichte der biblischen Offenbarung," ed. 1876.

3. Now even in this matter of the date and development of the Law and of its literary registration, the Pentateuch, the position is greatly improved for the apologist as compared with a century ago.

(1) As to the historical existence and importance of Moses.

Voltaire, in his chapter, "Whether Moses ever existed," tells us: "If Odin's contemporaries mentioned nothing about him but sheer miracles, he would run great risk of being discredited at the court of Denmark. He would be no more considered than the enchanter Merlin. Now Moses appears to be in precisely the same case in the eyes of those who go by evidence alone." "The French imagined a Francus as their founder and legislator; the Swedes have Magog, and the Spaniards, Tubal." "The people of Mesopotamia boasted of having had a fish from the Euphrates, Oannès, for their lawgiver. Moses might well be in the same case as this fish." †

But Reuss, as rationalistic as he is competent, now tells us: "Moses was the first prophet, and the constant, unvarying, grateful tradition of posterity has exalted him as such; in other words, he was for Israel the first legislator of the religion of the only true God, the Creator, the just and holy one." ‡ Kuenen says substantially the same. § Wellhausen says: "The time of Moses is everywhere looked upon as the really creative period of Israel's history, and therefore as typical and regulative for later times. And indeed it must have been at that time that, by an epoch-making foundation, the beginning of Israel's history was made. The prophets, no doubt, increased the peculiarity of the people; but they did

* See the admirable criticisms on all three in Kuenen's "Abhandlungen," pp. 431-440, 410-419.

† "Œuvres Complètes," ed. 1785, v. xxxiii. pp. 244-248.

‡ "Les Prophètes," v. i., Introd. p. 9.

§ "Theologische Tijdschrift," 1883, p. 199.

not create it, for they themselves take their stand upon it. The movement again from which proceeded the monarchy no doubt first bound the parts, but loose up to then, into a political unit, yet the spiritual community of Israel did not take its rise only then." This latter bond "bound the tribes and families together, already in the period of the Judges; the less was the support it found at that time in constraining outward forms, the more living must have been their consciousness of spiritual unity. In Palestine the Israelites found a population superior to themselves in numbers and culture, which they gradually absorbed. The process of amalgamation was favoured by relatedness of race and language; yet, however much the victors may have taken over from the vanquished, Canaanites they did not become, but on the contrary turned these into Israelites." "A certain interior unity then existed long before it found expression in a political commonwealth; this unity reaches back to the times of Moses, and Moses must be looked upon as its founder. Now the foundation on which at all times the sense of community rested in Israel, was the conviction: Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah. Moses did not invent this conviction, but he it was who effected its becoming the foundation of the nation and of its history." At Cades "he founded a stable centre for a legal tradition and became the originator of the *Thorah* (Law) in Israel, by means of which the sense of community and the conviction of God gained a positive, ideal content." "The priestly *Thorah* was a non-political or pre-political institution, which existed before the State and belonged to its invisible foundations." "Among all ancient peoples we find the Deity put into relation with the affairs of the nation, the utilisation of religion as a motive for justice and morals; among none, however, in such purity and strength as among the Israelites."* And Mr. Claude Montefiore and Professor Driver tell the same tale.†

(2) Moses could write, did write, and we still possess some of his writing.

(i) "We have," says the very 'advanced' Professor Cornill, "in the papyrus Anastasii III., direct documentary proof, that in the time of Pharaoh Merenptah there existed an active and regular official, literary correspondence between Egypt, Palestine and Phœnicia; and, according to what still remains the most probable supposition, Merenptah is the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and hence Moses's contemporary. In the face of such facts it would be entirely unfounded to deny to Moses the knowledge of writing."‡

(ii) "It is highly probable," writes Dr. Driver, "that there existed the tradition, perhaps even in a written form, of a final address delivered by Moses in the plains of Moab, to which some of the laws peculiar to Deu-

* "Geschichte," pp. 13-16, 17.

† "Hibbert Lectures," pp. 14, 15; Introduction, p. 144.

‡ "Einleitung," p. 14.

teronomy (D, the middle-aged of the Pentateuchal documents) were attached, as those common to it and the Jehovist and Ephraimite (JE, the two oldest of the four great documents of the Pentateuch) are attached to the legislation at Horeb." "In its main stock, the legislation of the 'Priestly Code' (P, the longest and probably latest of the documents) was not 'manufactured' by the priests during the exile: it is based upon pre-existing Temple usage, and exhibits the form which that finally assumed."* Even Kuenen writes: "In describing the duties of the people sanctified to Jehovah alone, the Deuteronomist utilises not only ancient traditionary lore, but uses also literary sources." Besides the "Book of the Covenant" (Exodus xx.-xxiii.) it is highly probable that he had another, perhaps more than one document at his disposal, which he specially used in cc. xxi.-xxv." And the date of these documents Kuenen has to leave open.†

(3) The cautious and critical Delitzsch writes as follows. Of the Decalogue he says:

"The soul of the great Lawgiver must have been the workshop in which the divine thoughts of the 'Ten Words' found linguistic expression; the human words in which God's revelation has here clothed itself, are words of Moses: the Decalogue is the most fundamental document of the Sinaitic legislation, and the most authentic of all authentic texts." Of the "Book of the Covenant" (Exodus xx. 23, xxiii. 33; see xxiv. 7) he writes: "The double testimony to Mosaic writing (Exodus xxiv. 4, xxxiv. 27) is limited to this one point that Moses wrote down the fundamental laws of the Sinaitic Covenant. We think the claim should be looked upon as justified with regard to this, no doubt the older form (c. xxxiv. is a later recapitulation)." Of Deuteronomy he holds that the 'and Moses wrote' (c. xxxi. 9, 24) is not Moses' own assertion, but an assertion concerning him; the Deuteronomist declares that Moses, before his death, left to the Priesthood a Law written by himself for custody and propagation. "The Mosaic Torah of the fortieth year claims indeed to be contained in Deuteronomy, but not to be identical with it." "We postulate for these testamentary speeches a traditional foundation which has been reproduced freely indeed but with the profoundest mind and sympathy. The writer has lived himself into Moses' thought and language, and reproduces him, in true union of mind in the greatest intensity of God's inspiring Spirit." As to the so-called Priestly Code (Exodus c. xxv.—Numbers c. xii., with some whole chapters and many single verses scattered over Genesis and the earlier chapters of Exodus and Joshua), he holds that "the stories in Genesis existed in writing in old, pre-exilic times, and had in general the form which they have now;" that "the legislative historical matter of this Code is drawn from tradition," but that "already at the time when Deutero-

* "Introduction," pp. 85, 135.

† "Hexateuch," p. 251.

nomys was composed, the groundwork existed of the legislation codified by the Priestly writer, since Deuteronomy everywhere presupposes already existing more special enactments;” in a word, that “the Priestly Code is the result of a successive development and formation, which, even though we allow it to reach down to post-exilic times, has yet its roots in the Mosaic age.”*

4. And Catholic scholars are increasingly resuming and developing certain discriminations which the great scholars of the seventeenth century already in part attempted and divined.

(1) As to the primary importance of Moses’s practical work :

“Westill attempt,” says Abbé Loisy, “to prove the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch, and we employ for this purpose arguments which are not sufficiently conclusive, since they do not truly rest upon the analysis of the texts. We could prove, with greater ease and more fruit, that Moses, whatever may be his share in the composition of the Pentateuch, really existed, that he is the indispensable founder of the Jewish religion, the historic starting-point of the great religious movement which culminates in Christianity.” And again: “Of the three important points, the Mosaic origin of Israel’s monotheism, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and the ritual prescriptions concerning unity of sanctuary, the first is the most important. Now this point, which supposes the reality of the person and of the historical rôle of Moses, can be established independently of the other two, by various considerations which all come to this: the monotheism of post-exilic times is explicable by the prophets, and the monotheism of the prophets is explicable by Moses—by that and by nothing else. The other two points are more closely interconnected: the thesis of the legal unity of sanctuary in Israel since the times of Moses has no other basis than the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch.”†

(2) As to the historical reality of the Hexateuch :

The Jesuit Jacques Bonfrère tells us: “The Book of Joshua is rightly joined on in order to the books of Moses, since it but continues the history begun by Moses; indeed it contains in a manner the end, to which the wanderings of the Patriarchs and the Exodus from Egypt look, which end is none other than the acquisition of the Promised Land.”‡ Abbé Loisy says: “As a literary composition, the book of Joshua has very close affinities with the Pentateuch, but must have been separated from it, when the latter entered into the effective possession of Canon-

* “Genesis,” pp. 19–30.

† “Enseignement Biblique,” Nov.–Dec. 1893, p. 7; “Congrès Scientifique des Catholiques,” 1891, v. i. p. 298.

‡ “Josue, Jud. et Ruth Commentario illustrati,” 1631, p. 1.

icity.”* And Father Van den Biesen: “The Pentateuch is not the history of the life and death of Moses, whose death occurs at the end of Deuteronomy. For in that case the author would not have commenced his narrative with the creation of all things, but with the birth or call of Moses.” †

(3) The Pentateuch is composed of different documents.

Even Archbishop Smith tells us: “Although Moses reduced the Pentateuch to writing, we are not to suppose that he was the original author of everything in it. It would be no matter for astonishment if we found Moses incorporating with his own original materials, documents from elsewhere, adapting, curtailing, extending, translating, as Livy does whole pages of Polybius without acknowledgment, or interweaving them with his own narrative or with each other, as McCabe does with the ancient chronicles of England.” ‡ Analogous views are to be found in Fr. von Hummelaner’s new “*Commentarius in Genesim*,” pp. 39–42, on “The Redactor or Author.”

And these documents furnish numerous double and some treble accounts of unique events, from Genesis onwards right into Joshua.§

“And here the argument for different authors,” writes Father Robert Clarke, “is not from differences of style. It is from colligated differences of independent points of style, without corresponding difference of subject. This occurs again and again, and it never does so in literature, unless different documents have been employed. The most conspicuous difference in style is, to an English reader, the different use of the divine names;” yet “the documentists are well aware that the use of ‘Lord’ or ‘God’ is not of itself a sufficient or a safe criterion;” “the colligation of independent points of style comes out, when we notice that all the Elohim (‘God’) sections (of the first seven chapters of Genesis) are associated with Toledoth (‘Genealogies’) : ‘these are the genealogies.’” And on other points also “the styles of the two sets of sections do not merely vary, which would be nothing; but their independent component parts vary together. The common cause of these independent variations can be only the personality of two different authors.” And he admits material differences—*e.g.* as to the sets of twos and sevens of beasts unclean and clean, and sets of twos and twos of beasts of all kinds—in the two documents of the Flood Narrative (Genesis vi. 9–22 and vii. 1–5 respectively); as to sequence in the two accounts of creation (Genesis i.–ii. 4a; ii. 4b–25) and other points. And he argues that the question here is not

* “Canon,” p. 35.

† DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1892, p. 252.

‡ “The Book of Moses,” v. i. pp. 21, 22.

§ Lists in Dillmann’s “Genesis,” pp. ix. x., and his “Numeri, Deuteronomium u. Josua,” pp. 594, 595.

whether those apparent differences are or are not real contradictions ; for that even if they are not, "it does not in the least follow that the same author could possibly have written both, because a writer avoids not only contradictions but also whatever resembles or suggests them, and subjoins an explanation when he asserts two things which seem incompatible."* "Genesis," writes the Oratorian Père Charles Robert, "is composed of double narratives. It is thus impossible to attribute it to a single author. For how admit that an author should stoop to the ridiculous device of telling all the events of Genesis in two editions, differing at times appreciably?"†

(4) Moses, then, cannot be either the author or final redactor of any one of the books of our extant Pentateuch. Fr. Clarke writes :

"If by the Pentateuch is meant the whole of the five books as they now stand in the Hebrew Bibles, their present form was, I believe, apart from transpositions or other mistakes by subsequent copyists, given to them not by Moses personally, but by a redactor, R., whether R. was Ezra or some other inspired author. It is to be presumed that he made use of and embodied documenta which were already known and respected, and which proceeded, in some parts directly and in others indirectly, from Moses, whose scribe he was. As to those passages of which it is said 'Moses wrote this law,' or the like, it is to be inferred that Moses wrote that law, though the wording we now have may not be that of Moses. When a thing is set down and it is not said that Moses wrote it, we cannot, obviously, infer from the text whether Moses wrote it or not. As to the substance as distinguished from the form of the Torah, I believe Moses to be its author in the sense that it proceeded from him, and that we now have it through the various satellites of Moses who have explicated the Mosaic law, but have not, at least when R. ratifies them, said what is false, or ascribed to the ultimate author of the Pentateuch what is not his.‡ Père Robert says: "Moses, we must believe, wrote historical memoirs and religious precepts. But the historical book," referred to in Exodus xvii. 17, Numbers xxiii. 21, "is it one of the books which form the Pentateuch? Clearly, no." And the law book referred to in Exodus xxiv. 4, "must have been distributed throughout the legislative portions of the Pentateuch, with such modifications as were required by the different situations of the people of Israel."§ And the Dominican Editor of the "Revue Biblique," tells us: "We cannot refuse to believe M. Robert when he tells us that only after long struggles against the documentary theory has he felt himself obliged to admit that, in its

* *Tablet*, Feb. 17, 1894, pp. 256-7 ; March 31, p. 497.

† "Réponse à 'l'Encyclique et les Catholiques Anglais et Américains,'" 1894, pp. 54, 58.

‡ *Tablet*, April 21, 1894, p. 616.

§ "Réponse," pp. 51-53.

main outlines, it is true.* We cannot, then, accuse him of flippancy or temerity." All this seems amply to justify Abbé Loisy's assertion: "The Pentateuch, in the state in which it has reached us, cannot be the work of Moses."†

(5) The Pentateuch, with Joshua, consists of three (or rather four) great documents. (a) One of these is all included in one of our present books—Deuteronomy (D). That this was the book found in the Temple, under Josias, B.C. 623, is held without hesitation by St. John Chrysostom,‡ and is asserted by Abbé Vigouroux and Père Robert.§ (b) The two other main documents, the Jehovist and Elohist ("Priestly Code") (J and P) are fully recognised by Father Van den Biesen, Father Robert Clarke, and Père Robert.|| I should like to add my own experience of four years close study of the Hebrew Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and my conviction as to the overwhelming character of the proofs as to this point. (c) The fourth document, the so-called younger Elohist, better called the Ephraimite (E), closely related to, and not always distinguished from J, is recognised by Dr. Van den Biesen.¶

The Jehovist and Ephraimite are certainly considerably older than Deuteronomy, and the latter, again, is probably older than "The Priestly Code." Their respective laws and history would represent three stages of Hebrew legislation and three phases of Jewish historiography; ** and the specific errors of the critics of the Left would hence consist in allowing too little of primitive Mosaic tradition, especially in the last stage, and in taking throughout the purely natural and secondary causes as the exhaustive explanation of the development undoubtedly present.

5. Now this conception of the gradual evolution of the Law has a high apologetic value. For, as Prof. Robertson Smith remarks:

To insist that the whole law is the work of Moses is to interpose a most

* "Revue Biblique," Jan. 1895, p. 57.

† "Enseignement Biblique," Nov.-Dec. 1893, p. 6.

‡ Hom. 9 in Math.; Hom. 7 in 1 Cor.

§ "Manuel Biblique," 8th ed., ii., p. 106. "Réponse," p. 53.

|| DUBLIN REVIEW, Jan. 1893, pp. 40-65; *Tablet*, Feb. 17, March 24, 31, 1894; "Réponse," pp. 49 seq.

¶ DUBLIN REVIEW, Jan. 1893.

** "Réponse," pp. 51-53.

serious difficulty in the way of its recognition as a divine dispensation. Before the Exile, the law of ceremonies was not an effectual means to prevent defection in Israel, and Jehovah Himself never dispensed His grace according to its provisions.*

It does, indeed, appear to be the fact that the books of Judges and 1 and 2 Kings know but the legislation of J. and E.; 3 and 4 Kings, this legislation and that of D.; and that Chronicles alone, of the extra-Pentateuchal historical books, knows the legislation of P. as well. Dr. Van den Biesen has well brought out these points in the DUBLIN REVIEW, January 1893, pp. 42 *seq.*†

IV.

As to the Old Testament prophecy, and the preliminary, preparatory character of the Old Dispensation in its relation to the New, the field of investigation and the points of difference would also appear to be getting more clearly defined and limited.

1. As to the date and composition of the Prophetical Books, Catholic scholars are coming to admit :

(1) A Deutero-Isaiah (cc. xl. onwards). Cardinal Newman tells us :

"Nor does it matter whether one or two Isaiahs wrote the book which bears that prophet's name; the Church, without settling this point, pronounces it inspired, both Isaiahs being inspired; and if this be assured to us, all other questions are irrelevant and unnecessary."‡ Abbé Loisy says: "Supposing that the second part of the book of Isaiah, which is an independent work, was not at once joined on to the first part, then the thirty-nine first chapters, isolated from the rest, must have stood behind Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in virtue of the principle which arranged the prophets in the order of length and not of age."§ Father Van den Biesen writes: "It is a great advantage to the student to know beforehand that a certain part of the collection of prophecies was written, not by Isaiah,

* "Old Testament in Jewish Church," p. 317.

† The three objections from Our Lord's manner of quoting the Old Testament, and from the tradition of the Jewish and the Christian Churches, will be considered in my final article.

‡ *Nineteenth Century*, February 1884, p. 196.

§ "Canon de l'A. T.," 1890, p. 38. Note that this is the order of some Hebrew MSS., and that the Talmud, Bathra, 14 b, attests its antiquity. This arrangement is best explained as above; but, if so, then we have important external evidence for the two Isaiahs: Jeremiah, 55 cc., Ezekiel, 48 cc., Proto-Isaiah, 39 cc. (our present book has 66 cc.).

but by a prophet living towards the close of the Babylonian Exile.* And Father Clarke takes the same view.†

(2) A late date for our extant book of Daniel. The reasons which can easily be found in such Introductions as those of Driver or König, seem indeed conclusive, and such counter-arguments as those of Abbé Fabre d'Envieu quite insufficient.‡

The book of Ecclesiasticus [writes Abbé Loisy] was composed probably about the year 180 B.C. In cc. 44–49 he praises the ancestral heroes of Israel, following closely the ancient Biblical writings: in cc. 44, 45, the Pentateuch; in c. 46, Joshua, Judges, I. and II. Kings; and so on, up to c. 49 vv. 13–15 which suppose a knowledge of II. Esdras. Probably c. 49, v. 11, originally mentioned Job; v. 12 is of doubtful authenticity (so also Fabre d'Envieu, p. 766). Now the writer knows the first and second division of the Hebrew Canon, "The Law and the Prophets," and several books of the third division, "The Writings." But, as to the latter, there are significant omissions: Daniel, I. Esdras, Esther. With all the good will in the world, there is no other way of explaining why Daniel is not counted among the Prophets, than by admitting that the son of Sirach either did not know his book or did not receive it as sacred and canonical.§

2. As to the whole subject of Prophets and Prophecy, the critics are coming to admit and to proclaim the following points:—

(1) The unique grandeur and universal importance of the Prophets and the striking fulfilment of some of their predictions concerning the near future.

Wellhausen tells us of Elijah: "The prototype of these exceptional prophets, whom we are nevertheless rightly accustomed to consider as the true prophets, is Elijah of Thisbe in Gilead, the contemporary of King Ahab. In utter loneliness this prophet, the grandest heroic figure of the Bible, soars above his times. To him Baal and Jehovah meant contradictory principles, of the last and deepest practical importance; they could not both be right and exist alongside of each other. For him there existed everywhere only one holy and one mighty power, which revealed Itself not in the life of nature, but in those laws of human society, through which alone society can endure, in the moral postulates of mind." And of Amos: "Amos of Thekoa," the shepherd from the desert along the Dead Sea, "was the beginner and the purest

* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1892, p. 251.

† *Contemporary Review*, July 1894, pp. 42–50.

‡ See "Bulletin Critique," 1888, pp. 437–444.

§ "Canon de l'A. T.," pp. 42, 43. See also Père Delattre, S.J., "Revue Catholique de Louvain," xiii. pp. 425–33.

expression of a new phase of prophecy. Its theme is the threatening conflict between Assur and Jehovah and Israel, the destruction of Israel. The Assyrians introduced a new factor, that of the world-monarchies or, more generally, of the world, into the history of the nations. Face to face with it, these nations lost their mental balance; the rough reality in its sudden apparition destroyed their illusions; they threw away their very gods as so much rubbish on to the rubbish-heap, to the rats and bats. Only the prophets of Israel refused to be surprised by the events and to be frightened by despair out of their wits; they solved beforehand the terrible problem which history was putting. Where others saw the fall of the holiest, there they saw but the triumph of Jehovah over empty seemings and superstition. Let fall what might, the valuable remained. The living present became for them the plot of a divine drama at which they assisted with anticipating comprehension. Everywhere the same laws, everywhere the same aim of development. The prophets are the acting personages, Israel is the hero, and Jehovah the poet of the tragedy." And of Isaiah: "Sennacherib demanded (701 B.C.) the surrender of Jerusalem. The greatest discouragement reigned in the capital. But there was one man who would not be cowed. As little as before by presumption, did Isaiah now allow himself to be infected by despair. He gave courage to King Hezekiah in Jehovah's name and determined him not to surrender the city: the Assyrians would not take it, would not shoot an arrow into it: 'thy standing and thy sitting, thy coming and thy going,' so Jehovah addresses the Assyrian, 'I know, and thy rage against me. And I will put my ring in thy nostril and my bit between thy lips, and I will lead thee back by the way which thou camest.' And it really happened as Isaiah said. By a still unexplained catastrophe, the Assyrian army-in-chief got destroyed on the Egypto-Palestinian frontier, the King had hurriedly to withdraw to Nineveh, Jerusalem was saved." "The (previous) judgment on Samaria (721 B.C.) was for Isaiah but the beginning of a series of judgments and the final result of the long crisis was positive. Out of Judah a remnant was to be sifted out, which should perpetuate Jehovah's community upon earth; this seed of the future was to brave the Assyrians, and, in the attempt to destroy it, they themselves were to come to nought." Of Jeremiah: "King Josiah outlived his great reform by thirteen years, a happy time of exterior and interior prosperity. Only Jeremiah refused to be infected by the universal mood. The people's confidence, he said, was a delusion, the interior situation unchanged. King Josiah fell in the battle of Megiddo (608). The unfortunate result of the battle prepared an unexpected end for the hopes and happiness of Judah." In 538 the clear prospect of help from Pharaoh Hophra was sufficient to break down all hesitation on the part of Judah, which "declared its revolt from Chaldæa. Shortly after, and a Chaldæan army lay before Jerusalem. For a moment all seemed to turn for the best: the Egyptians came to relieve the town, the Chaldæans had to raise the siege and go and meet them, great joy reigned in Jerusalem. Only Jeremiah persisted in his black

prognostic; if even but a few wounded Chaldæans remained over, those would suffice to take Jerusalem and to burn it to the ground. He turned out right: the Egyptians withdrew, the siege began anew. In vain he sought, even now, at the constant risk of his life, to induce the Jews to capitulate. At last, in July 586, the Chaldæans penetrated into the town, which was destroyed, the Temple above all being pulled down and reduced to ashes." "Jeremiah's work for the people had been in vain, but not in vain was it for himself. By the non-success of his prophecy he was led beyond prophecy itself. That he suffered for Jehovah's sake was his consolation; rejected by men, he fled back to him, who had chosen him as his messenger and had thus opened out an access to himself. Amidst pain and woe, the certainty of his personal communion with God arose within him, the deepest essence of piety found vent through him. That which moved and upheld him, moved and upheld the noblest minds of Judaism after him: the sufferings of the just, the working of the power of God in the oppressed and the despised. He is the father of true prayer." Of Ezekiel: "In the great shipwreck (of the fall of Jerusalem) prophecy became the saving plank for those who clung to it. Prophecy now changed from threats to promises. If before the Exile the prophets had opposed the illusions of the time, they now opposed its hopelessness and inspired faith in the future." So with Ezekiel. "On the spiritual life of the Jews he no doubt did not exercise a determining influence, he did so only on their organisation. This, however, was at the time the more important task." Finally, as to Deutero-Isaiah: "The Jews would not believe that Cyrus was the instrument of Jehovah for realising the promises. It was against this mood that Deutero-Isaiah came forward. How differently is the Persian saluted here, from the way in which Amos addressed the Assyrian or Jeremiah the Chaldæan! The God of the world had accomplished his work of destruction on Israel, now he was again building up. Our prophet is as though intoxicated with the idea of the Almighty: the thought which raises and inspires him is his certainty: this great God of the wide world is and remains our God. In the fact that they, the Jews, and they alone, possess the truth, he sees the guerdon of their consolation and their hope, the pledge and warrant of their resurrection from the grave of exile. His national consciousness is extreme, but it is not narrow-minded: for him the stream of Israel's history falls into the ocean of the history of the world. The truth conquers the heathen, to but redeem the heathen also. The great Unknown-One's gospel, that he who dwelleth on high is near to them that are despised and down-trodden, the doctrine of interior right to which victory, external justification shall not be wanting, raised and moved souls for many a long day.*

(2) The reality, persistence and progressive purification of the

* "Geschichte," pp. 52, 53 (Amos); 71, 73 (Elijah); 87, 89 (Isaiah); 97, 98, 101, 105, 106 (Jeremiah); 109, 110, 113 (Ezekiel); 115, 117, 118 (Deutero-Isaiah). See also pp. 35, 36; 69; 74; 78, 79, 82; 84; 93; 94.

Messianic expectation. Dr. Bruce has a good chapter, based throughout upon the dates and admissions of the critics only, on to source, expression, and value of that Prophetic Optimism, that "passion for righteousness and passion of hope, the combination of which makes the figure of the Hebrew prophet so unique."

As to the source, it "was not the mere temperament or disposition of the prophet"; for "as such he is not characteristically hopeful; his temptation rather is to be querulous, desponding." Nor did the prophet but create "the bright future as a solace to relieve the gloom of the present"; for "a Hebrew prophet was in dead earnest in all he said and did; as he conceived the future, so he believed it to be." The source was "the prophet's religious faith in the election of Israel and in the character of God" as prominently gracious, merciful. "There is no limit to what can be expected from Almighty Love. For the heathen poet the golden age lay in the past, for the Hebrew prophet it lies in the future; for the prophet believed, as no heathen philosopher or poet ever did in the goodness of God." As to the expression, this may be brought under three main types: political, as in Amos, and largely in Isaiah, with much stress laid upon the ideal King of the good time coming; next ethical, as in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the reformed state giving place to a regenerate people; and, lastly, religious, as in Deutero-Isaiah, the model King and the nation giving place to the missionary to all the peoples of the earth.* And this 'Servant of Jehovah,' who is at the beginning equivalent to the chosen people, and further on to the remnant among it, appears also as an individual, who suffers, dies, atones, and who cannot well be taken as a mere personification of either of the two previous groups or as identical with the prophet himself.† As to the value, "if there was any reality in the election of Israel, then the thought which underlies all Messianic prophecy must be true, viz., that a great good is coming." And this good was to come through an individual: "All Hebrew prophecy points to the individual as the source of salvation," and this "prepares us for finding that the final result of this long development is one supreme man, the Light of the World." "Historic exegesis will justify us," further "in expecting Him, because of Isaiah's prophecies, to be an anointed one, divinely endowed with right kingly qualities of wisdom, justice and benignity"; "in inferring from Jeremiah's prophecy the great idea of a Kingdom of God independent of nationality, for the moral law written upon the heart has nothing merely national about it"; and "in concluding, from Deutero-Isaiah, that this royal man and this divine kingdom are to be connected, by the ideal man making himself the king of hearts by wisdom and by suffering." "These three things, 'the rod out of the stem of Jesse,' 'the law written on the heart,' and 'the

* "Apologetics," 1892, pp. 245-255.

† Delitzsch's "Weissagungen," pp. 141-143.

man of sorrows acquainted with grief,' are the kernel of the *summum bonum* as conceived by the prophets: in Jesus Christ these three ideals meet.'''*

(3) The elaborateness, subtlety, and universal prevalence of the Rabbinical interpretation of the Old Testament which our Lord and His Apostles found in possession as the one religious language of their day, in which St. Paul was brought up and which, after his conversion, still remained the one means of fighting the spirit of Rabbinism through its very letter.

If, says Dr. Weber, the first beginnings of Rabbinism are to be sought in the scribes, the successors of Ezra up to the Maccabees (458-167 B.C.), yet its highest development occurs in the times of the great schools of Hillel and Schammai up to the fall of Jerusalem (30 B.C.-70 A.D.), during the enacting and registering of the New Dispensation. There were the thirteen rules of interpretation; and next the five classes of "Hints" (Remaz), derived from the lines and dots above some of the Hebrew letters (3 divisions); from the letters themselves (4 processes); from the particles (3 divisions); from the position of the words (2 processes); from the secret inter-connection of different sections of the Bible. An example from the second class would be the application of "gematria" (the use of the letters according to their numerical value) to the word צֶמַח, "branch" in Zacharias iii. 8, and again to the word מְנַחֵם "comforter" in Lament. i. 16. They have the same numerical value, hence are to be reckoned equal and interpretable one by the other: the "branch," the Messiah, will also be the Comforter.†

We have probably a case of inverted gematria in Apoc. xiii. 18 (the number of the beast), and possibly, says Lipsius, one of direct gematria in Gal. iv. 25, where the verb συνοστοιχεῖ may mean "having the same στοιχεῖα, the same numerical value in the letters."‡

And yet Wellhausen well says of St. Paul: "In our time St. Paul is accused, with ever-increasing vehemence, of having introduced Rabbinism into the Gospel. That he did, indeed, but only into his argumentative method, especially in the subject of justification, where, for polemical purposes, he takes over the statement of the problem from the Jews. But the real substance of his religious conviction has remained fairly untouched by it. He it is in truth who fully understood the Gospel and drew its consequences."§ And Adolph Harnack: "Paul was the first who, on the foundation of the death and resurrection of Christ, developed a theology in view of the Old Testament. This theology had its opposite in the Legal Righteousness of Pharisaism. Hence, on this very account,

* Bruce's "Apologetics," pp. 256-261.

† "Altsynagogale Theologie," 1880, pp. 106-114, 116-121.

‡ "Handkommentar z. N. T.," ii. 2, 1891, pp. 49, 50.

§ "Geschichte," p. 319.

it took its form from the latter, and yet its strength was but its certainty of the new life in the spirit which was offered by the Risen Conqueror of the flesh and of sin.”*

(4) The Messianic claims of Christ. Here also we have an improvement. For F. X. Bauer held that these amounted but to a reluctant, politic stooping to a popular illusion, for the purpose of getting a local foothold for the universal religion; and Dr. Martineau holds that He cannot have made them, for that a self-conscious Messiah is, *ipso facto*, no Messiah, so that no words implying this self-consciousness can be regarded as genuine expressions of our Lord.† But now Dr. H. Holtzmann, the ablest of the Radical Exegetes, tells us:

This representation (the entry into Jerusalem, Mc. xxi. 1-11) excludes all doubt as to whether or not Jesus, whose fate was to be decided in Jerusalem, Himself gave rise to this insistence on His Messianic rights on occasion of His entry; for He purposely drops all disguises, pushes the Messianic question to the front, and brings the crisis to a head.”‡ Adolph Harnack says: “Jesus called Himself ‘the Son of Man,’ and led on His disciples to the confession that He was the Lord and Messiah. And at the end of His life He told them, in that solemn moment, that His death, as His life, was an immortal service, which He was rendering to ‘many’ for the remission of sins. By this He put Himself outside the ranks of all others; He claimed a unique importance as Redeemer and as Judge.”§ Finally, Wellhausen writes: “On his last pilgrimage he manifested himself to his disciples as the Messiah, and accepted, on his entry into Jerusalem, the homage of the people. It is impossible to doubt this, for it cost Him His life. Yet he cannot have intended to declare himself the King of the Theocracy and to overturn the foreign rule. The kingdom which he had in view was not that for which the Jews were hoping. He fulfilled their hopes and desires, beyond their prayers and understanding, by raising them to another ideal of a higher order. Only in this sense can he have called himself the Messiah: they were to look for no other: he was not the one whom they were actually desiring, but he was the one whom they ought to have desired.||

3. And Catholic scholars are coming to re-affirm and to develop the following points:¶

* “Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte,” 1893, pp. 15, 16.

† References and discussion in Bruce, *l.c.* pp. 356-369.

‡ “Handkommentar” i. 231.

§ “Grundriss,” pp. 11, 12.

|| “Geschichte,” p. 315.

¶ I have had, for this section, the rare advantage of a MS. dissertation by Abbé Loisy, of the year 1886, on the Prophets and Prophecy; where my references are not otherwise specified, they refer to the pages of this MS.

(1) The variety and fulness of the prophet's vocation.

Abbé Loisy writes :—

"In marked contrast to the heathen soothsayers, the prophets and prophetesses in Israel are attached to no sanctuary with a view to delivering oracles ; they preach as much as they predict, and their activity is independent of the priesthood ; they fulfil a social ministry under the immediate, unique direction of the God who sends them." "The exact terms of comparison for estimating the vocation of the prophets are wanting to us. Jeanne d'Arc is, perhaps, the heroine whose life and character resembles most those of the ancient seers of Israel. Their programme is that of the Gospel : "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." This Kingdom of Heaven will consist in the happiness of the just, and it can only come by means of justice. They are reformers who aim but at re-calling both kings and priests to a sense of duty. Strange institution which perpetuates itself without any provisions for its recruitment, and which sustains itself throughout whole centuries by the simple strength of faith." "The prophet's themes are as varied as can be the incidents of the lives of individuals and of the life of a nation, the cares of a patriot, the desires of an apostle, and the expectations of a believer." "He is neither a doctor nor a pastor ; but the voice which cries aloud and proclaims Jehovah's will, whatsoever, whensoever, howsoever He may will."

And the variety and fulness of the Messianic prophecies.

"Under this name," writes Abbé Loisy : "I comprise not only those prophecies which manifest the expectation of a great King, a glorious Liberator, but also all those which, without mentioning the person of the Messiah, announce a great judgment for the condemnation of the wicked and the exaltation of the just, the domination of Jerusalem over the nations, and the submission of the Gentiles to the service of Jehovah. All these ideas are interconnected, and their totality constitutes the Messianic Kingdom ; 'the Kingdom of God' or 'of Heaven' to use the Gospel terms. To this class of prophecies many other predictions indirectly belong, which threaten either the Jews or the Gentiles ; for the catastrophes which they predict, prepare the advent of the Kingdom of Justice. From this wider point of view, almost all the prophecies are Messianic."*

(2) Development and economy apply, as to the whole Old Testament, so also to the Messianic prophecies and to their New Testament interpretation.†

* MS. pp. 4, 10, 46.

† The Encyclical teaches that it should be "the first and dearest object of the Catholic commentator to interpret those passages which have received an authentic interpretation from the sacred writers themselves (as in many

St. Gregory the Great tells us :

"We must bear in mind that, with the growth of ages, the spiritual science of the Hebrew Fathers grew also. For Moses was more instructed in the science of God than Abraham, the Prophets were more so than Moses, the Apostles more so than the Prophets."*

And this growth, we find it, in the Old Testament's self-testimony, not only in the requirements of the law,[†] but also in the promises of the covenant.[‡] And the New Testament expressly requires us to find in the Old Testament this slow divine education, not only as to legal matters,[§] that Law which Our Lord Himself has expressly taught us that He came "to fulfil," Matthew v. 17, showing us, by his own examples, what a far-reaching development He meant by this fulfilment, Matthew v. 27-32, xv. 11, xii. 8-12; but also as to prophecy, which He came to fulfil in the same sense as He fulfilled the Law. Centuries of political dependence, then the months of the Baptist's Penitential Preaching, then a moment of His own resistance to the temptation of earthly domination, Matthew iv. 8-10, are so many preparations, stages, and manifestations of prophetic growth: "Many Prophets have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them, and to hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them," Matthew xiii. 17.||

places in the New Testament) in that identical sense," *Tablet*, January 6, 1894, p. 8. The dogmatic theologian, like the New Testament writers themselves, is busy with what *is* and with the Old Testament only in so far as it is preparatory and analogous to the permanent dispensation. The historical scholar, unlike the New Testament writers, is busy with what *was*, and with each stage of the Old Testament development taken in all its pristine limitation. The principles, both of the Old Testament, New Testament, and of the Church as absolutely require this very development, the special province of the historian, as they do a substantial identity, the special province of the theologian. The Encyclical then allows full scope to scholar and theologian, each within his proper sphere.

* In Ezech. ii. hom. 4, n. 12.

† *E.g.*, the regulations as to food: only vegetable, Gen. i. 28-30; then, vegetable and animal, Gen. ix. 3, 4; or the two slightly different forms of the Decalogue, Ex. xx. 1-17; Deut. v. 6-18.

‡ *E.g.*, the hero of the future, simply a ruler out of Judah, Gen. xlix. 8-12; next, he is to sit upon the throne of David his father, 2 Kings vii. 11-16; lastly, priest and king in one, Zach. vi. 13.

§ *E.g.*, circumcision, Phil. iii. 3; sacrifices, Rom. xii. 1; food, clean and unclean, Acts x. 15; Sabbatical and Jubilee years, "weak and beggarly elements," Gal. iv. 9; new moons and feasts, "a shadow" of the growing light, Col. ii. 17.

|| See all this and more, in König's "Einleitung," pp. 553-555.

Now these general principles of the Bible have to be borne in mind in the interpretation of such passages as seem to claim complete identity of correspondence between O. and N. T. history and ideas.

Dr. Schanz shows this as to St. Matthew :

We cannot press the words, i. 22 : " Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which the Lord spoke by the Prophet," and let them mean " that the prediction was the cause of the event " ; again, the words " Out of Egypt have I called My Son," ii. 1, " refer, historically, to the sojourn of the Jews in Egypt and their deliverance by Moses, with St. Jerome we must take this passage in Osee typically " ; once more, the words " a voice in Rama was heard," ii. 18, refer, in Jeremiah, to the deportation of the Jews from Rama to Babylon, whose fate is deplored by Rachel, the Ancestral Mother of the Ephraimites, but are " referred here to the murder of the children at Bethlehem, which are considered here as being Benjamin's mother, and lying buried by Bethlehem " ; and lastly, the words " He shall be called a Nazarite " are referred " already by St. Jerome to the Hebrew text of Isaias xi. 1, where the Messiah is spoken of as a rod, Nezer : elsewhere the same idea is expressed by Zemach ; " * the assonance would, in that case, be the basis of the adaptation of the prophecy. " †

Similarly, in St. Paul, slight assonances suffice as occasions for interpretation, 1 Cor. xiv. 21, Eph. iv. 8 ; and he not only insists upon a meaning for us now, additional to the original meaning, Rom. v. 23, 24, but also on things having happened in figure and having been written for our learning or correction, Rom. xv. 4, 1 Cor. xii. ; indeed, in one place he even emphatically excludes the literal sense altogether, 1 Cor. ix. 9 : " doth God take care for oxen ? " Yet how little he really cares for the Old Testament but as a means to Christ ! Throughout his four epistles to the heathen-Christian Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, he never once quotes Scripture ! The Old Testament, as the heathen classics, Acts xvii. 28, are but means, writings, to preach Christ and Him crucified. ‡

And this whole method of interpretation is but a sifting and utilising of the religious language of the times, a language simply necessary and legitimate and true in the strict sense

* " Commentar über Matthæus," 1879, pp. 88, 108, 109, 111, 114.

† " Enseignement Biblique," Sept.-Oct. 1893, p. 73.

‡ Bernard Weiss's " New Testament Theologie," ed. 1884, pp. 268-275.

and for the limited purpose in which Our Lord and His apostles used it.

"When," says Abbé Loisy, "the Alexandrian Jews sought to find the doctrine of Plato in the sacred writings of Israel, they introduced a foreign element into the literature they were rejuvenating. The exegesis of the Pharisees added but the modern form of the ideas and hopes which the ancient books already contained, and which they had contributed to propagate. And then the entirely spiritual accomplishment of the increasingly spiritual promises draws Christian exegesis along the road opened out by the Synagogue." And legitimately, for "tradition is the born interpreter of Scripture, and the moment this object is to draw dogma from the sacred books, it is fitting to show it there, not in the vague outlines of its first appearance, but with the definiteness it has acquired through the religious thought of centuries. Truth naked and abstract is demanded of the theologian, the truth that edifies, of the preacher, the truth demanded of the exegete is that of history, he has to say what was, what was thought and believed." "Tradition has been assisted in its labour, as the sacred authors have been inspired in theirs. Let us not confound the seed with the plant. We have no interest in contesting the application of this principle to the interpretation of Scripture, since it is already at the bottom of all our arguments against Protestantism."* "Before faith came we were kept under the law," says St. Paul, Gal. iii. 23. "This custody," says St. Augustine, "was, according to the apostle, as though under a pedagogue of little children. And hence those who pertinaciously clung to the signs of the old law, could not bear the Lord when He contemned them, the time for their revelation having come."† "Figurative exegesis served but as a simple vehicle for new ideas; its value lies less in what it is than in what it conveys; it is a providential means in which it would appear that God took account of our human infirmity." "Humanity is a child of which God is the Father and Master. To the Israelites encamped in the desert, He said: 'Keep the precepts of the Lord thy God that thou mayest possess the goodly land concerning which the Lord swore to thy fathers.' Later on, He said by the prophets: 'Be faithful, and Jerusalem shall become the queen of the universe.' At last the Christ comes: 'My kingdom is not of this world; blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice, blessed are the meek, the merciful, they that mourn, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' These, at first sight incongruous promises, all amount to saying: 'Do your duty and you shall be happy.' Only, there are the duty and material happiness of youth; then the graver obligations and the fuller joys of adolescence; lastly, the serious intelligence of life and the grace of a will mistress of all things because

* MS. pp. 26, 30.

† "De Doctrina Christiana," iii. 6.

mistress of herself in the maturity of age. Only when at last the moment was ripe, did God give to mankind all things in giving it His Son." *

V.

As to Our Lord's conceptions and prophecies of the future, we get the following admissions and discriminations:—

1. (1) As to the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Dr. Holtzmann has not a doubt as to Our Lord having really spoken the prophecy, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," of Matt. xxiii. 37–39; and, as to that of the destruction of the Temple in Mc. xiii. 1–4 (and parallels in Matt. and Luke), he tells us: "Whilst the disciples only see things present, Jesus has but eyes for the doom which is darkly gathering together over the holy place, a doom really described by him, in colours borrowed from 4 Kings xxv. 13, and Micheas iii. 12, and not by any means written after the event. In the New Jerusalem also, Apoc. xxi. 22, the Temple-house has disappeared."† And Wellhausen says: "The Jews were drifting towards a conflict with the Romans: the question was, what would be the result? It was the same question which had confronted Amos and Jeremiah when the conflict was threatening with the Assyrians and Chaldeans; John and Jesus answered it in the same manner as those two ancient prophets. They felt by anticipation the inevitableness of the destruction of the theocracy."‡

(2) As to the Synoptic Apocalypse (Mc. xxii. 5–32 and parallels).

It has three acts, each containing an apocalyptic half (vv. 5–9a, 14–20; 24–27) closely alike in all three synoptists: Dr. Holtzmann gives four strong reasons for his conviction of the whole Apocalypse having been written before the destruction of the city; *e.g.*, "the flight on to the mountains ordered in v. 14 secures the prophecy by one proof the more against the suspicion of being but an *oraculum ex eventu*." §

(3) As to the great prophecies of the final conversion of Israel, the gracious call and reception of all the Gentile nations into the Messianic kingdom, and the final general judgment, which run through the Old Testament, and are endorsed by Our Lord (Matt. xxiii. 39, Luke xxi. 24): they are increasingly seen to be noble and necessary to any complete and healthy view of God's justice and man's nature.

* MS., pp. 45, 55.

† "Handkommentar," i. pp. 231, 232, 255, 256.

‡ "Geschichte," p. 309.

§ "Handkommentar," i. pp. 22, 260.

Christian apologists begin the argument. Dr. Bruce points out that "the pagan view of the future life" is "one of the characteristics of the deistic system: the hope of deism regarding the life beyond, like that of Greek philosophy, contemplates only a disembodied form of existence. The watchword of deism is the immortality of the soul, that of Christianity is the resurrection of the body."* And the Catholic Dr. Schell adds: "The relation of the particular to the general judgment is comparable to that of immortality to resurrection, of the partial to the complete realisation of the fundamental law of theism with respect to the world, that spirit and matter are created for each other in order conjointly to fulfil the divine plan of salvation." "Revelation, in announcing the general judgment as the end of the world, teaches that not only single souls have a value, but also peoples and races as such, systems and sects, schools and orders, the Family, Society, the Church and the State."† Next, Dr. Schechter, the great Jewish Rabbinical scholar, tells us: "The individual, the pet of modern theology, with his mystical longings, is not of such importance as that Judaism can spend its whole strength on him. In this world, 'the world of activity,' the righteous have no such peace as when the great Sabbath shall break upon us, when all things will be at rest; they have to labour and to suffer with their fellow creatures. The best control [of any tendency to a degenerate quietism] is to work towards establishing the visible kingdom of God in the present world. This, the highest goal religion can strive to reach Judaism never lost sight of."‡ Finally, Wellhausen caps this by declaring: "In the background of Jesus's view of life stands everywhere the future completion of the good and the future destruction of evil, the transformation of weakness in power and glory. So far he appears completely at one with the Jews: like them he expects the descent of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. But he conceives the Judgment as a judgment on the Jewish people, which is to be accomplished by the destruction of Jerusalem. And, again, he speaks of a judgment in the other world on each individual soul, the living and the dead appearing together before God at the last day to receive final sentence. Elsewhere again we find the idea that the judgment is not delayed to the last day, but that it synchronises with death." "His conceptions on this point appear everywhere as completely self-evident, and hence must, in some manner, have been pre-existent; but they never dominated the Jews, and their existence cannot be proved for the times before the New Testament." "In the mouth of Jesus the eschatological conceptions gain a universally human and super-historical impress; of gnosticism and fantasticalness there are no traces: a moral metaphysic gets developed, full of earnest simplicity."§

* "Apologetics," p. 120.

† "Dogmatik," iii. 1892, 1893, pp. 868, 871. A noble, bracing book.

‡ *Jewish Quarterly*, vol. vi. pp. 646, 647.

§ "Geschichte," pp. 313, 314.

2. And Catholic scholars, on their part, are coming to discriminate as follows :—

(1) With regard to the date of Our Lord's second coming, the Parousia.

Professor Schell tells us: "The second advent of Christ is in the Old Testament Revelation included in the promise of the Messiah, and is distinguishable as a second advent only through its object of judgment and retribution from the first advent, with its corresponding object of meriting and communicating the Holy Spirit." "In the New Testament there is constant reference to the second coming. Jesus Himself, as well as His apostles, promise and warrant it in countless passages. But the eschatological prophecies of Christ do not distinguish between the near and the distant future.* The expectation of the apostles, as many passages show unmistakeably, was the speedy return of Christ in the days of the then living generation.† When the realisation was delayed, doubts arose with regard to the promise itself and demanded explanation, as in 2 Thess. ii. and 2 Pet. iii.; especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, with which the Last Judgment seemed immediately connected. In this case also men were thus forced to seek the spirit that giveth life, that higher sense, embracing the history of salvation and of the world, by which the apparent contradiction found its solution and the prophecy its full truth."‡ And Fr. Corluy, S.J., claims for the great eschatological prophecy a literal sense, where everything concerns the destruction of Jerusalem, and which was fully accomplished before the extinction of the generation contemporaneous with Our Lord; and a typical sense, having for its object the final catastrophe of the human race, to be accomplished only after a long series of centuries. "This we have been taught by the subsequent history. But the manner in which the apostles proposed to Our Lord the double question which gave rise to the discourse, Matt. xxiv. 3, shows clearly that, fervent Israelites as they were, the ruin of the city and the end of the world were, in their minds, closely allied with each other. And it must have been impossible for the disciples to discriminate between the double object of Our Lord's answer: they would naturally think of but one series of facts: both the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world were, according to the expectation, to take place before the death of the then living generation." He then discusses eight texts in proof of this belief, and finishes up with three Pauline passages (1 Thess. iv. 14-17; 1 Cor. xv. 51-53; 2 Cor. v. 1-8), "which show us quite plainly this state of mind of the great apostle." And he concludes:

* So Matt. xvi. 28, xxiii. 39, xxvi. 64; Mark viii. 39, x. 29, 30, xiii. 26; Luke ix. 27, xiii. 35, xviii. 7, 8, xxii. 18, 69; John xxi. 22, 23.

† Acts iii. 20; thirteen passages in St. Paul; four in the Catholic Epistles; Apoc. iii. 11; xii. 7, 10, 20.

‡ "Dogmatik," iii. pp. 143, 829.

"It appears to us, then, that no dogmatic reason opposes the following conclusion : St. Paul, in the first two of these passages, teaches nothing precise, enunciates nothing concerning the end of the world; but the manner in which he expresses himself reveals to us what was, on this subject, his personal opinion, outside of the influence of inspiration. It seemed to him not only possible but probable that the contemporary generation would not end before the term of the present world: he was not without hope of seeing the second advent before his own death." *

Finally Professor Bisping tells us how that "the wording of 1 Thess. iv. 15 shows beyond all doubt that St. Paul counts himself among those who perhaps still live to see the Parousia of Christ," and so also of 1 Cor. vii. and xv.†

(2) As to the details of the Prophecies regarding the Latter Days.

Professor Schell tells us: "God is the bread of life to the spiritual world; but He is this not as a lifeless substance, but as a self-acting personality: hence He cannot be offered mechanically to humanity. To every period of the world's history is reserved a varying but an ever-real moral probation: moral decision and believing aspiration, self-active efforts of free-will raised by grace, remain for all periods of Church History the exclusive path that leads into the land of the promised union with God. Hence the Church has ever refused to accept such theories—*e.g.* Millenarianism—as expect a condition on earth incompatible with the merit of faith and probation." "As to the universality of the ultimate conversion, it should not be applied fatalistically, either in the case of the Gentiles or of the Jews, to the sum total of persons, but only to the nations as a whole. In the bearing of the individual, liberty asserts itself; in the bearing of nations, the objective force of facts prevails: both the objective attractiveness of Christianity, and the objective power of resistance of peoples with their national peculiarities. If then Christianity and the Church are from God, they will eventually turn out stronger than all national counter-currents." "Not through mere external discipline or habit, not through the blunting, checking, or uniformation of thinking, but through the spirit of living conviction and devotedness, will the Kingdom of God arrive at full dominion upon earth. To all other weapons and successes, even if for a time they appear to work in favour of the Church, the words apply of Christ to Peter: Put up again thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword shall perish by the sword.' The conquests of the spirit will alone endure." "We do not discuss the spacial and temporal circumstances of the last judgment because Revelation offers for this purpose but few indications, and

* *La Science Catholique*, Avril 1887, pp. 284-287, 293-297, 300.

† "Die Briefe an die Thessaloniker," ed. 1865, p. 47; "Die Briefe an die Korinther," ed. 1863, pp. 121, 122, 292, 293.

because we, who live in the categories of the development, have no means to enable us even to surmise the forms of the conclusion. It is more important, and Revelation gives greater aid, to examine the interior significance of the judgment, and to utilise it for theology and the moral life. Taken thus, this dogma actually becomes one of the apologetic buttresses of the temple of Revelation."*

VI.

Arrived at the term of our first stage, with its three primary proofs for Christianity, Christ's life, doctrine, and influence; and its three secondary evidences, the history of Israel, the relation and contrast between it and Christ, and Christ's own outlook into the future: I should like once more to illustrate and to reflect on the exact point we have now reached.

We have so far asked nothing of our Theist, but faith in his own principles and willingness to look at our facts, evidence not in proof that we believe but as incentive to his believing. But now we have done our part, and we invite him to an act of faith.

And hence, looking back now at the arguments of Reason, and forwards at the claims of Faith, we realise at this juncture that Dualism, which it is as essential to Faith as it is to Reason not to deny or obliterate, but to proclaim, to practice and to bring to peace. We began with one thing, the love of truth; it has led us on to be conscious of two things: a double manifestation and a double range of truth: happy we, if we are!

Eighteen years ago, a white-haired old German Catholic servant of his Protestant King, took me, the all but unknown young man, with faltering step, up to a picture, and turning, with trembling hand, the light of an upraised lamp upon a proudly hopeful, bright young soldier's features, he said: "That was my only child, thank God that he died when he did, fighting for his King; it would have broken his heart, this conflict between what alone he lived for, his Emperor and his Pope!" And I thought: "Oh no; would that it had stayed with us, the rich rare young heart, so warm and valiant, in a world so cowardly and cold: only those who thus suffer from the conflict can help found a lasting peace!"

* "Dogmatik," iii. pp. 799, 801, 802, 816, 817, 878.

Now I have ever thought of him as a type : only minds such as his, only mental Rebeccas have any business even to speak of such passing warfare between Jacob and Esau, Church and State, or Faith and Reason, powers each so divine and so necessary, each in itself and each to each. Only complete men can help bring about that completeness which is solid peace : "life and more fuller, *that* we want."

FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL.

ART. V.—MR. SWINBURNE'S "STUDIES IN PROSE AND POETRY:" A CRITIQUE.

"Much malice mingled with a little wit."—DRYDEN.

MR. SWINBURNE has lately focused on himself the attention of the literary world by the publication of his recent volume of prose essays, entitled "Studies in Prose and Poetry." The papers, eleven in all, are very unequal in length, style, and merit. The shortest is a slight and not remarkably clever five-page travesty of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. The longest, an extremely optimistic review of "The Posthumous Works of Victor Hugo," fills more than half the volume.

The book, on the whole, is disappointing, and will not contribute much to Mr. Swinburne's literary fame. The writing is, no doubt, in parts piquant and vivacious, and the criticism, though never profound, is sometimes at least just, and occasionally sympathetic. But the volume is disfigured from the first essay to the last by those glaring faults which mar nearly all Mr. Swinburne's work; the style is artificial, over-elaborate, alliterative, full of assonances; the views put forth are often extravagant, intemperate, inaccurate; the language is not seldom coarse and sometimes indelicate; the terms in which he expresses disagreement with writers equal or superior to himself are unmeasured and aggressive; and when he thinks fit to drag in religious topics, he is always ill-informed, bigoted, and offensive.

Among the faults of style the most provoking is an incessant striving after jingling assonances and alliterative effects. Mr. Swinburne is notoriously the poet of alliteration—not the Tennysonian alliteration, subtle, coy, unobtrusive—but glaring, persistent, brazen, hammering out the same initial consonant to the utter exhaustion of both eye and ear—like the ceaseless banging of a never-ending forge. The celebrated chorus in "Atalanta in Calydon" will serve to point this remark:

Before the beginning of years
 There came to the making of man
 Time with a gift of tears,
 Grief with a glass that ran ;
 Pleasure with pain for heaven,
 Summer with flowers that fell,
 Sunbeams that haled him to heaven,
 And verses evolved by the ell.

There are no doubt folk of the more untrained sort to whom this device, thus clumsily introduced, is endurable in Mr. Swinburne's verse; but surely no mortal with an ear unspoiled by barrel-organisms could for any length of time tolerate its unending repetition in prose. Alliteration, unless "it lends its artful aid" artfully is a blemish in poetry and a positive blot in prose. And instances of such obvious blots are found on every page of these "Studies." Opening the volume at random, the first sentence that meets the eye is bristling with alliteration :

The record . . . as I have elsewhere endeavoured to certify at some laborious length is full of unflagging energy and unfading beauty; but its poetic beauties are fainter and its poetic energies less fervent than those displayed in the former volume.

In that sentence the letter *f* certainly plays first fiddle, but in the very next *p* overpowers all competitors :

These posthumous poems of a political or polemical order, &c.

F, however, quickly flies to the front again :

The finest in executive effect is the feeblest in its hold upon history, and the faultiest in its relation to fact.

But *f* and *p* lose the first place before the final line of the page is reached, and *m* is as mad as a March hare to worst its opponents and win :

That the mock martyrs of Manchester should not have been elevated to the dignity of death by hanging in retribution for homicide—that it would have been wiser to spare as worthless,

and so on, and so on, and so on—all on a single page, .
 page 286.

It is curious to notice that *f* is first favourite among the

consonants which Mr. Swinburne most affects alliteratively. Here is another case in point (p. 200):

The veiled woman whose identity is revealed by the furtive felicity of felonious chance—*un front bien fier chargé d'un joug bien vil*—is a figure no less pathetic than suggestive of future effect.

By contrast it was rather the letter *b* that Bully Bottom preferred:

Whereat with blade, with blood-red blameful blade, he bravely broached his boiling bursting breast.

This taste for alliteration is accompanied too by another fault of style—the almost complete absence of that tranquil yet varied cadence which characterises good prose. In place of this Mr. Swinburne substitutes a sort of spurious metrical system of his own—the product of self-conscious and over-elaborate writing. The following will serve as a specimen (p. 184):

At one moment we feel a rapture of admiration
for the marvellous accuracy of instinct,
the subtle sublimation of good sense,
the superb sureness of intuition,
discernible and appreciable
in the lightest and slightest remark
which reveals the inborn force and splendour
of the speaker's peculiar and incomparable faculty or ability.

This rhythmic effect of poetical prose is in large measure due to Mr. Swinburne's inveterate habit of "adjectivity," and, it might be added, of "adverbiality." He abhors an unqualified substantive and dislikes an unqualified adjective:

A *just* enthusiasm,
a *genuine* passion of *patriotic* and *imaginative* sympathy,
a *sincere*, though *distorted*, love of nature,
an *eager* and *earnest* faith in freedom and in loyalty,
in the loyalty that can only be born of liberty;
a really *harmful* and a nobly *rational* tone of mind
with regard to the *crowning* questions of duty and death;
these *excellent* qualities of emotion and reflection
find here and there a not *inadequate* expression
in a style of rhetoric not always *flatulent* or *inharmonious*.

Fifteen adjectives in ten lines of the original text, amid which the sense is hidden like a woodcock in a thicket! This bastard metrical system conveys the impression that Mr. Swinburne's paragraphs were originally stanzas which, not having been kept "this side up with care," have become shaken out of shape. There is a prize specimen of this irregular metre on p. 161 :

In the third May which had arisen
upon the poet in a strange *land*,
there came from the *hand* of an exile
the most brilliant and joyous effusion
of laughing fancy that ever
broke into birdlike music
of rippling and shining verse.

And again on the same page :

The words are actually *fragrant*
and *radiant* with the very perfume,
and the very splendour
of a woodland winter in spring ; we
smell the dripping flowers,
hear the clamouring birds,
catch the gleam of falling raindrops.

Mr. Swinburne's prose is obviously, then, a miscellaneous collection of tags of iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic lines ; but the blank verse prevails. The verse-like effect is, of course, enhanced by the ever-present alliterations, and by the not infrequent assonances, as "fragrant and radiant," "land and hand." But there are occasions when Mr. Swinburne's Pegasus runs away with him altogether, and then his prose fairly bursts in verse. Page 104 supplies a specimen :

Literary history will hardly care to remember or to register the fact that there was a bad poet named Clough whom his friends found it useless to puff! for the public, if dull, has not quite such a skull as belongs to believers in Clough.

In penning these lines Mr. Swinburne had evidently floating in his mind sweet and tender memories of babyhood when at his nurse's knee he lisped in numbers such as these :—

[No. 14 of *Fourth Series*.]

There was an old man up a tree.
 Who was terribly bored by a bee,
 Being asked, "Does it buzz?"
 He replied, "Yes it does,"
 It's a regular brute of a bee.

His sentence aimed at the heart of Arthur Clough was certainly framed on this nursery model:

There was a bad poet named Clough,
 Whom his friends found it useless to puff;
 For the public, if dull,
 Has not quite such a skull
 As belongs to believers in Clough!

One more example will perhaps suffice to show that whatever Mr. Swinburne's calling in life may be, it is obviously not prose:

The passionate splendour of contemplative indignation which makes of every stanza such a living and vibrating flame of persistent and insistent music as we sometimes are privileged to see and hear in the full charge shoreward of a strong and steady sea can only fail to appeal to the spirit and the sense of such casual trespassers and transgressors as come down to the seaside with a view to indulgence in cockney or in puritan indecencies, &c. (p. 296.)

In that remarkable sentence Mr. Swinburne treats his readers not only to rhythm, assonance, and alliteration, but to bathos also and a muddle of metaphors withal. The passionate splendour just fails to vibrate into a Cockney, bathing without a "machine." A future Swinburnian Society will, perhaps, in a learned "Excursus," explain what "the passionate splendour of contemplative indignation" means; and how "contemplation"—which implies repose and not "indignation"—has the power to metamorphose a stanza "into living and vibrating flame"; and how a "vibrating flame" can be the music, either persistent or insistent, of a full charge shoreward of a sea in which a Cockney-bather is disporting himself a little indecorously.

It was said above that these "Studies" erred on the side of over-elaboration. The following is, however, unstudied enough (p. 239):

We must know that we must be wrong if we fancy that we find in such a volume as that now before us more grasp of thought, more solidity of

reason, more fixity of faith than in such theological treatises as teach us the grammar of assent without belief. [The italics are not Mr. Swinburne's.]

And this form of sentence is puzzling :

Nor can it be denied that no severer sentence of condemnation can be passed upon any poet's work.

The paragraph ending with a sneer at the "Grammar of Assent" is also illustrative of Mr. Swinburne's taste for irony. He expects his readers to see at a glance the absurdity of venturing to set Cardinal Newman on as high a pedestal as Victor Hugo for "grasp of thought, solidity of reason, or fixity of faith!" He means to intimate that a particular volume of Hugo's poems—"Dieu"—manifests the intellect of a more "sovereign thinker" than Newman, "displayed rather than disguised by the genius of a supreme poet." And in making this statement Mr. Swinburne is not apparently in jest! He delights in the use of such clumsy irony, and yet hardly seems to feel the shaft when aimed by another at his own breast. He narrates (p. 38) how the late Professor Jowett once requested an old pupil—Algernon Charles Swinburne, to wit?—to read over the great translator's first version of Plato's "Symposium," and see if he had any suggestion to offer. The pupil incontinently fell to work and read through the translation in question; and in one passage it did certainly seem to him that the Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford had mistaken and misconstrued his Plato, and he said so. Mr. Jowett turned and looked at him with surprised and widened eyes, and said, after a minute or so, "Of course *that* is the meaning. You would be a good scholar if you were to study." A fine instance of Mr. Jowett's raillery, though Mr. Swinburne took it seriously, at the foot of the letter!

This ill-timed sneer at the "Grammar of Assent" reminds us of another grave defect, the frequent recurrence of which greatly disfigures the volume under review—Mr. Swinburne's unseasonable and unmeasured abuse of all who differ from him on political, literary, or religious grounds. In the following passage from the essay on Sir Walter Scott's "Journal" he goes out of his way to make an attack, an entirely unprovoked attack, on Carlyle and Mr. Gladstone. Emphasising the

absurdity of putting Scott on a level with Shakespeare, he writes: "Truth is truth, though it be a Carlyle or a Gladstone, a Pigott or a Parnell, who affirms it; our astonishment at the fact must not be permitted to impair our recognition of its existence." To logical coherency Mr. Swinburne does not even pretend to aspire, else it might be worth while to point out that no one's "astonishment" ever did "impair his recognition" of the inferiority of Scott to Shakespeare. The sentence is, in fact, foisted in without rhyme or reason to make an insinuation against a great living statesman. Mr. Swinburne is fond of impeaching the veracity of others, as will be proved further on. His motive, however, for thus girding at Carlyle and Gladstone we can only conjecture. They have both, perhaps, sinned against him, the former by commission, the latter by omission. The one was the reputed author of a certain unpublished epigram on Mr. Swinburne, more pointed than pleasing; the other did not appoint him Poet Laureate.

The following is Mr. Swinburne's opinion of two well-known Oxford scholars—Mark Pattison, of whom it has been said that "taking him all round, he was the first man in Oxford,"* and John Addington Symonds (p. 34), the English evangelist of the Renaissance.

It was impossible for the most malignant imbecile to compare or confound him (Jowett) with such morally and spiritually typical and unmistakable asses of the Dead Sea as Mark Pattison, or such renescent blossoms of the Italian renaissance as the Platonic amorist of blue-breeched gondoliers who is now in Aretino's bosom. The cult of the calamus, as expounded by Mr. Addington Symonds to his fellow-calamites, would have found no acceptance or tolerance with the translator of Plato.

Less emphatic, though perhaps more ungenerous, is his criticism of that most refined and dainty versifier, that delightful and good-natured parodist, that superb and supreme translator of Horace, C. S. Calverley, who is described as:

Monstrously overrated and preposterously overpraised, a jester who may be fit enough to hop, skip and tumble before university audiences, but without capacity to claim an enduring or even a passing station among even the humblest of English humourists.

* Tollemache, "Stones of Stumbling," p. 187.

Mr. Swinburne, it will be noticed, is unsparing of both universities.

Nor is Mr. Swinburne less extravagant or exaggerated in his likes than in his dislikes. He has a most unjudicial mind. He is not less prodigal of praise than of censure :

'Tis hard to tell, so coarse a daub he lays,
Which sullies most, the slander or the praise.

His laudation of Victor Hugo makes the French poet almost ridiculous. In the description of his demigod he exhausts, or rather reiterates, the whole vocabulary of superlative and extravagant praise ; in a word, he *puffs* him. He repeats at every page that Hugo is the master poet of his age and country ; the sovereign poet of the nineteenth century ; a poet of the prophetic or evangelic order ; the greatest contemporary writer ; incomparable and marvellous ; marvellous and incomparable ; magnificent and transcendent ; whose work is the delight and wonder of all ages of the world till thought and passion, sympathy and emotion, poetry and nature shall be no more ; a sovereign thinker ; a maker of matchless verse ;* a poet with whom Horace cannot bear comparison ; whose verses are divine ; the author of a sonnet the grandest and most graceful in the world ; the author of a perfect piece of work than which none more absolutely perfect was ever wrought by human hand, &c. All this reminds us of "The Two Gentlemen of Verona :

Thurio.—Sir, if you spend word for word with me, I shall make your wit bankrupt.

Valentine.—I know it well, sir ; you have an exchequer of words and, I think, no other treasure.

No wonder that Mr. Swinburne has no words of praise for his equals and superiors in English literature ; he has spent them all on the Frenchman.

* Here is a passage quoted from Hugo, about which his passionate admirer states that "it would be superfluous to say that no other poet could have written a line of it" (p. 163) :

Dieu veut que, parfois, l'ombre ait une âme gaie ;
Et cette âme, c'est toi. Ma tête fatiguée
Se pose sur ton sein, point d'appui du proscrit.

"Point d'appui du proscrit !" The "proscrit" would have found the bosom in question a more comfortable "point d'appui" if it had not jingled.

But the saintly bishop Dupanloup—of whom Hugo had penned this vulgar squib, quoted with approval by Mr. Swinburne :

Et si le pape enfin daigne rougir la jupe
Du prêtre dont le nom commence comme dupe
Et finit comme loup,

Dupanloup—theologian, orator, littérateur, whose obsequies were attended by deputations both from Senate and Academy—Dupanloup who had the courage to stigmatise the scurrility, profanity, and obscenity of Victor Hugo's later works, Mr. Swinburne describes as

that incarnation of envy ; a backbiter whom the temperate and sparing phrase (HEAVEN SAVE THE MARK !)—whom the temperate and sparing phrase of Hugo has made immortal ; a versatile and venomous rhetorician who wrote, as well as his "*Causeries de Lundi*," a certain furtive series of anonymous articles, republished since his death under the title of "*Chroniques Parisiennes*." The man who has not read these has but an imperfect conception of the meaning of the terms malignity and meanness, platitude and perversity, decrepitude of cankered intelligence and desperation of universal rancour (p. 257).

And Mr. Swinburne winds up, out of breath, with an attack on Matthew Arnold for his unstinted praise of Dupanloup.

A reader with courage enough to wade through these wildernesses of words called "*Studies*," will soon discover a certain law of variation contained in them. With mathematical accuracy Mr. Swinburne's Swinburnianism varies directly as the peevishness of his humour. He is most alliterative when he would be most severe—"malignity and meanness ; platitude and perversity ; decrepitude and desperation !" Yet, after all, Mr. Swinburne's severity is not very severe. He is the blundering engineer who delves below his own mine and is hoist with his own petard.

The Irish nation Mr. Swinburne never mentions without one of his ill-timed and intemperate remarks. Two instances will suffice. Writing of Hugo's "*Notes of Travel*," he says (p. 218) :

. . . . France was then at least, whether she is or is not now, so far behind all other barbarous nations as to be fit for alliance with none but Russia, Dahomey, or United Ireland.

And again (p. 228):

In Brittany the only cleanly inhabitants are the pigs, and even this exception is cancelled, this compliment is withdrawn in the very next letter, which gives us a glimpse of a cottage gilded with sunshine, smoking gaily through clusters of ivy and roses—"un affreux bouge breton ou les cochons couchent pêle-mêle avec les bretons. Il faut avouer que les cochons sont bien sales." *He should have remembered that they were of Celtic breed.*

An Irishman, I imagine, would retort that if his pauperised countrymen herd with hogs, it is not from choice but necessity. How that necessity arose Mr. Swinburne can hardly be unaware. It is certainly grotesque for an Englishman to scoff at Irish destitution which Englishmen, for their own aggrandisement, have brought about. Let Mr. Swinburne read his Lecky. A glance round the world should convince him that when the Irishman gets his head from under the Englishman's heel, he quickly ceases to associate with swine. What good can such sarcasm, cheap as it is senseless, do? That it will do harm is certain in nursing in the hearts of Irishmen that spirit of animosity against England which it is by no means her interest to foster. Moreover, whatever the enforced physical uncleanness of the Irish poor may be, it is notoriously true that morally they are, beyond all comparison, the purest people in the world—a virtue which, let us hope, even the author of "Poems and Ballads" can at least admire.

But if Mr. Swinburne has not been tender of the feelings of Irishmen, he has simply trampled on those of Americans. Writing of a poet who, whatever his defects, is at least popular in his own country, Mr. Swinburne's aggressiveness breaks all bounds. He once informed the world that what most attracted him to the profession of criticism was "the noble pleasure of praising." This is how he praises Walt Whitman (p. 129):

He is simply a blatant quack; a vehement and emphatic dunce of incomparable vanity and volubility, inconceivable pretension and incompetence; his style of rhetoric is not always flatulent; it is unreasonable to attribute a capacity of thought to one who has never given any sign of thinking, or a faculty of song to one who has never shown ability to sing; he has no more right to call himself a poet, or to be called a poet

by any man who knows verse from prose, or black from white, or speech from silence, or his right hand from his left, than he has to call himself, or to be called, on the strength of his published writings, a mathematician, a logician, a painter, a political economist, a sculptor, a dynamiter, an old parliamentary hand, a civil engineer, a dealer in marine stores, an amphimacer, a triptych, a rhomboid, or a rectangular parallelogram. Mr. Whitman's Eve is a drunken apple-woman, indecently sprawling in the slush and garbage of the gutter amid the rotten refuse of her overturned stall. Mr. Whitman's Venus is a Hottentot wench under the influence of cantharides and adulterated rum. Cotytto herself would repudiate the ministration of such priestesses as these. Under the dirty clumsy paws of a harper, whose plectrum is a muckrake, any tune will become a chaos of discords. The unhealthily demonstrative and obtrusive animalism of the Whitmaniad is as unnatural, as incompatible with the wholesome instincts of human passion as *even the filthy and inhuman asceticism of SS. Macarius and Simcon Stylites.*

ὦ, ὦ Παύλ ! Io triumphe ! Bravo, bravissimo ! We wonder who held Mr. Swinburne's coat while he delivered himself of those sentiments ! Certainly the author of these "Studies" has little sense of humour, since for him to pose as a Censor Morum is a sight to shake the midriff of despair with laughter. He reminds us of that passage in Sir Walter Scott where King James the Second says of Dalgarnus :

I left Baby Charles and Steenie laying his duty before him. O Geordie ! jingling Geordie ! it was grand to hear Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence.

To the author of "Poems and Ballads"—a work of which a leading critic has written,* that "it is the foulest and filthiest book that ever man put pen to, the glorification of nameless and shameless vice"—Mr. Walt Whitman may well reply : "Physician, heal thyself."†

* *Nineteenth Century*, August 1878, p. 298.

† "Poems and Ballads" excited a perfect storm of adverse criticism. One American journal wrote of the book : "Coarse animalism draped with the most seductive hues of art and romance. We will not analyse the poems ; we will not even pretend to give the reasons upon which our opinion is based." Messrs. Moxon & Co., the original publishers, called in what copies they could, withdrew their name from the title-page, and declined to sell the work. The following is a specimen of the dignified verses in which Mr. Swinburne replied to the reviewers who objected to his blasphemy and obscenity :—

Lie still in kennel, sleek in stable,
Good creatures of the stall or sty ;
Shove snout for crumbs below the table ;
Lie still, and rise not up to lie.

These are some, but not the worst, instances of Mr. Swinburne's "noble pleasure of praising," or shall we say of his utter want of taste in his animadversions on those from whom he differs, or whom he misunderstands, or wants to defame. Indeed violent and intemperate phrases and epithets mar nearly every page of his book. He thus, for example, refers (p. 8) to Scott's depreciatory remarks on the poet of the "Sepolchri."

This insultingly reckless and savagely stupid example of headlong and brainless insularity is less inexplicable and scarcely more lamentable than the immoral and perverse infatuation which made Scott speak of one of the basest and shamefullest slanders that ever dropped from the lying lips of Byron as a mere sample of his mystifying. . . . It is hard to understand how so honest and loyal a man should have had two weights and two measures for the conduct of others.

As was remarked above, Mr. Swinburne delights to impute falsehood to others. Here is another instance of his violence of expression (p. 21):

The dastardly and poisonous malignity of Byron's foul and treacherous libel.

And again (p. 31):

Byron is the most affected of sensualists and the most pretentious of profligates.

And again (p. 8):

Napoleon Bonaparte was a brutal bandit marked by vile vulgarity.

And again (p. 36):

Euripides is the dreariest of playwrights, if that term be not over complimentary for the clumsiest of botchers that ever floundered through his work as a dramatist.

Euripides "clumsy! a botcher! a flounderer!" It takes away one's breath! Ought we to laugh or weep? Tears for Euripides or jeers for Mr. Swinburne? This of Euripides, whom the prince of critics, Aristotle, admired and praised above all others; and whom the most discriminating, the most appreciative, the most exacting of audiences that ever damned or immortalised a poet, set above Sophocles as Sophocles had been set above Æschylus! Oh for another Aristophanes to create another Dionysus, who again in his scales might balance the

dramas of the tragedian Euripides against the dramas of the tragedian Swinburne—the “Hippolytus” against “Chastelard” the “Medea” against “Bothwell.” The palm would certainly be awarded to Mr. Swinburne, for this latter tragedy of his—“Bothwell”—is the very longest play in existence, and perhaps the heaviest in pounds avoirdupois, one speech alone covering fourteen pages! If the author of “Ion” could but come from Hades to point for Mr. Swinburne the moral of that inscription written in letters of gold over the porch of the Temple of Delphi, Μηδὲν ἄγαν, “BE NOT EXTRAVAGANT”!

Expressions such as the following—all alliterative—are not few and far between, but form the very warp and woof of the book:

Beetle-headed blunderer; fantastic and brutal blemishes which deform and deface the loveliness of his incomparable genius; to gabble at any length like a thing most brutish in the blank and blatant jargon of epic or idyllic stultiloquence; the infamous pirate, liar, and thief who published a worthless little volume of stolen and mutilated poetry, patched up, and padded out, with dirty and dreary doggerel under the senseless and preposterous title of “The Passionate Pilgrim”; a broadside of brutality and burlesque, a discharge of mildewed mockery and flyblown caricature from the social or political battery of Messrs. Canning and Frere.

What a nice appreciation of the value of words! What a spendthrift squandering of pounds where a penurious scattering of pence had been extravagance! Surely Mr. Swinburne must have modelled his style on that of Ancient Pistol! So prodigal of words and yet so bankrupt of ideas!

Certain passages in the “Studies” had been marked for quotation as coarse and even indelicate; but I will spare my readers the unpleasant task of reading and myself of transcribing them. Mr. Swinburne’s canons of good taste are fairly well known by this time.

But a review of these “Studies” would be incomplete without a word on the author’s religious—or, rather, anti-religious—bias. He is never tired of using, but oftener making, opportunities to misstate and misconstrue, to jest and jeer at sacred things. Piety and holiness produce much the same effect on Mr. Swinburne as a red rag on a bull; they work him into a frenzy. And he loves the frenzy. For it is not merely

that the fit seizes him when the rag is obtrusively flaunted in his face, but he himself goes in quest of some one to flaunt it, and failing to meet him he flourishes the rag himself, and tosses it, and paws it, and gores it, and stares at it with fiery eyeballs, and snorts and bellows at it, and frets and fumes to his own very intense satisfaction and the no small amusement of the onlookers. I have already quoted the remarks he foists in on two great Saints, SS. Macarius and Simeon Stylites—that their asceticism was “unnatural and incompatible with the wholesome instincts of human passion, filthy and inhuman.” I have already quoted his senseless sneer at Cardinal Newman in the phrase, “such theological treatises as teach us the grammar of assent without belief” (p. 239). And I may here add his sarcasm at “deathbed conversions.” Writing of Sir Walter Scott’s mental decline in his last months, Mr. Swinburne says :

All that is merely deathbed exhaustion [and then he adds without point or provocation], and deathbed exhaustion is no more important, significant, or worthy to be taken into account than deathbed conversion. What a man was while he could stand, speak, and write, is matter of interest and importance to those who care to know anything about him ; when he cannot, it may be assumed that he can no longer think for himself, and that if he belies his whole life by submission to a creed [the Catholic religion, to wit], for which while sound and strong in mind and body, his contemptuous disgust was wont to exhaust the whole vocabulary of scorn, it is not the living man but the breathing corpse that is received into the pale of conversion.

Now at no period of his life has Mr. Swinburne been remarkable either for refinement of taste or the accurate use of words, but I venture to think that never at any time has he shown himself so devoid of both as in the above passage. At best he is a slap-dash artist, but in this paragraph his daubing has been done in the dark. His observations are as false as they are unseasonable. They are unseasonable because Scott was not converted on his deathbed, and therefore the question of deathbed conversion had no shadow of connection with the matter in hand. And they are false. First of all, it is false on the face of it that because a sick man cannot “stand, speak, or write,” therefore “he can no longer think” ;* and therefore

* Mr. Swinburne’s familiarity with literature is a pledge of his acquaintance

it is untrue to say that such an one is a "breathing corpse," if this violent oxymoron signifies that the patient has, of necessity, lost his reason. Again, why a deathbed conversion should imply that the convert could not "stand, speak, or write," possibly none but Mr. Swinburne could imagine. Moreover, that a dying man has cogent reasons for weighing spiritual motives which in life he has kept out of view, probably none but Mr. Swinburne would deny. Lastly, the paradox of the "breathing corpse" is a flat contradiction of the very thesis Mr. Swinburne was toiling to uphold, namely, that Scott "at the lowest ebb of his fortunes or his life" excited only "a rapture of sympathy, admiration, and applause" (p. 3).

But it is useless to waste arguments or reasons on Mr. Swinburne. He never meant to be reasonable. He only meant to be offensive.

On the Catholic Crashaw, priest and poet, Mr. Swinburne passes a criticism which as it not only reveals the abysses of his bigotry, but also supplies us with a measure of his capacity as a critic and his "noble pleasure of praising," it may be instructive to examine more at length. Crashaw, as all the world knows, was expelled from Oxford in 1644 by the Puritans for refusing to sign their Covenant, became a Catholic, and died about the age of thirty-four, a Canon of the Church of Loretto. He was a most popular writer in his own day, and his works, even during his lifetime, passed through several editions. He ranks with the neatest of English epigrammatists, two of his sacred epigrams being among the best known; the one on the changing of water into wine at the Marriage Feast of Cana in Galilee, a Latin elegiac quatrain of which the second pentameter is the celebrated line,—

with the widespread belief that the spiritual eye—the eye of the soul—often clears as the bodily eye clouds. As Waller has it:

Leaving the old, both worlds at one they view
Who stand upon the threshold of the new.

The dying Patroclus foretells the fate of Hector (*"Iliad"* xvi., 852 foll.). The dying Hector foretells the fate of Achilles (*Ibid.* xxii., 355 foll.). Socrates before his death, claims prophetic power and foretells the fate of the Athenians (Plato, "Apol." 30, "Phaedo," 85 A). The dying Hotspur in "Henry IV." (v. 4) "could prophesy but that the earthy and cold hand of death lies on the tongue." And Cicero holds the same view (*"De Divin"* I. xxx. 63): "Appropinquante morte multo est divinior [*sc. animus*]," and he proceeds to illustrate from the prophetic powers of a dying Rhodian. Hence the Church holds out hope to the sinner as long as there is breath in his body.

Nympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit.
The bashful water saw its God and blushed.

The other, still better known, on the Pharisee and the Publican,—

Two went to pray! O, rather say
One went to brag, th' other to pray.
One stands up close and treads on high
Where th' other dares not send his eye.
One nearer to God's altar trod:
The other to the altar's God.

Of Crashaw's poems Dr. Grosart, an Anglican clergyman and our author's most competent editor, writes:

Their depth combined with elevation, their grandeur softening into loveliness, their power into pathos, their awe bursting into rapture, their graciousness and lyrical music, their variety and yet unity, will grow in the study of them. As always, there is a solid substratum of original thought in them, and the thinking is surcharged with emotion.*

Nor is Dr. Grosart singular in his view. Robert Chambers in his "Cyclopedia of English Literature" (vol. i. p. 149), says of Crashaw:

His devotional strains and lyric raptures evince the highest genius; his translations are not unworthy of Milton; his imagination was copious and various; he had a power and opulence of invention. No poet of his day is so rich in barbaric pearl and gold, the genuine ore of poetry.

And again another witness, George Gilfillan:

In soaring imagination, in gorgeous language, in ecstasy of lyrical movement, Crashaw very much resembles Shelley. His raptures are all air and fire. His verse is pervaded everywhere by that fine madness, characteristic of the high order of bards.

And yet another, Dr. George MacDonald, in his "England's Antiphon" (p. 238):

I come now to one of the loveliest of our angel-birds, Richard Crashaw—one of those men who seem hardly ever to get a foothold of this world, but are ever floating in the upper air of it.

And yet one more witness may be adduced whose literary reputation is such as to put him safely out of reach even of

* The Fuller-Worthies Library, "Crashaw," vol. ii., introd. p. 70.

Mr. Swinburne's abuse—Coleridge, compared with whom, as poet, philosopher, and critic, Mr. Swinburne is as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine.* Comparing Cowley and Crashaw in their poem "Hope," Coleridge says of the latter: "His superiority to Cowley is self-evident." And again:

In the poem on the "*Name of Jesus*" this superiority is equally self-evident; but his lines on St. Theresa are the finest. . . . Where he combines richness of thought and diction, nothing can excel him, as in the lines so much admired

—where Theresa, as a romantic child, longs for martyrdom among the Moors:

Since 'tis not to be had at home
 She'll travel to a martyrdom.
 No home for her confesses she
 But where she may a martyr be.
 She'll to the Moors, and trade with them
 For this unvalued diadem;
 She'll offer them her dearest breath,
 With Christ's name in 't, in change for death;
 She'll bargain with them, and will give
 Them God; teach them how to live
 In Him; or, if they this deny,
 For Him she'll teach them how to die;
 So shall she leave amongst them sown
 Her Lord's blood, or at least her own.
 Farewell, then, all the world, adieu!
 Theresa is no more for you.
 Farewell all pleasures, sports, and joys
 (Never till now esteemèd joys)
 Farewell, whatever dear may be,
 Mother's arms or father's knee;
 Farewell house, and farewell home,
 She's for the Moors and martyrdom.†

Coleridge continues:

These verses were ever present to my mind whilst writing the second part of "Christabel," if indeed by some subtle process of the mind they did not suggest the first thought of the whole poem.

* "Letters and Conversations," 1836, i. 196, quoted by Grosart, ii. introd. p. 67.

† "A Hymn to the Admirable Sainte Theresa," ll. 43-64.

Such is the verdict of the best English criticism on Crashaw, priest, poet, confessor of the faith. And now for the views and opinions of Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne, "who was first attracted to the critic's profession by the 'noble pleasure of praise.'" Reviewing a volume of "Social Verse" he delivers his soul in the following terms :

It is of course questionable, and I cannot pretend to decide the question, whether a volume of social or occasional verse ought to include any examples of sacred poetry in its lighter and brighter form. But there are such exquisitely and daintily beautiful examples of such poetry in earlier and in later English verse that I cannot but regret their absence from a collection which includes a pervert's pietistic and Romanistic gush of sentimental religiosity over the poetry of a saner and a sounder devotee. If this sort of sanctified stuff is admissible, with its fetid fragrance of priestly perfumery and its rancid relish [Mr. Swinburne again grows alliteratively corybantic] of ecstatic or spasmodic excitement, why do we not find one single example of the many lovely songs which English poetry owes to an older and purer and wholesomer form of piety ?

After quoting three stanzas of a song, he continues: "I cannot but think such lines would have been fitter for a place in such a collection as this than *any effusion of sickly Crashaw*" (p. 92).

"Any effusion of sickly Crashaw"! You rub your eyes to see if you are dreaming. "*Sickly Crashaw!*" Of whom Mr. George Saintsbury* has said that his masterpiece is

one of the most astonishing things in English or any other literature In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, without warning of any sort, the metre changes, the poet's inspiration catches fire, and there rushes up to heaven a marvellous rocket of song.

And again :

No Englishman has expressed the religious fire as Crashaw has done, and none in his expression of any sentiment, sacred or profane, has dropped such notes of ethereal music.

Yet Mr. Swinburne thinks that his effusions are too "sickly" for a place in a collection of "Social Verse"! I will pass no judgment of mine on that singular verdict, but will leave

Mr. Swinburne to paint his own picture of himself as a critic of literature.

The "effusions of sickly Crashaw"! Had Mr. Swinburne been less stone-eyed and less stone-eared, less blinded by prejudice, less blunted by bigotry, he might perchance have remembered that while on page 92 of the "Studies" he describes Crashaw as "sickly," on page 46 he had already set it down for all men to read that Herrick had penned "*a triplet so divinely beautiful that Crashaw himself could not have bettered it.*" Crashaw then could reach, but not better, verses divinely beautiful! the "sickly" Crashaw!

Again, had Mr. Swinburne been less biased by his itch to bemire everything Catholic, had he possessed one grain of literary consistency, he would have borne in mind that while on page 92 we are told that Crashaw is "sickly," on page 245 we are further told of "*the full and fiery torrent of Crashaw's sometimes turbid and morbid verse.*" Yes! we understand perfectly. Crashaw's verse is "sickly"—"divinely beautiful"—"sometimes turbid and morbid"—"a full and fiery torrent"! This is an oxymoron as unique as that of the "breathing corpse"! As Theseus in "Midsummer Night's Dream" says of Pyramus and Thisbe: "Very tragical mirth! Merry and tragical! Tedious and brief! That is, hot ice and wondrous jet snow. How shall we find the concord of this discord?"

A last quotation from Mr. George Saintsbury (*l. c.* p. 369) will help to take the flavour of Mr. Swinburne's criticisms from the mouth as well as to throw additional light on the literary methods of the author of these "Studies." He says:

Crashaw's verse has often an unearthly delicacy and witchery which only Blake, in a few snatches, has ever equalled; while at other times the poet seems to invent, in the most casual and unthinking manner, new metrical effects and new jewelries of diction which the greatest lyric poets since—Coleridge, Shelley, Lord Tennyson, Mr. Swinburne—have rather deliberately imitated than spontaneously recovered.

It was once thus retorted against Cobbett by a political opponent: "Why does the honourable gentleman attack *me*? I never lent him a thousand pounds." Mr. Swinburne entertains against Crashaw all the bitter feeling of a debtor for his

creditor. He has not only carped at and calumniated the "sickly Crashaw"; he has also copied him.

The last instance to be adduced of Mr. Swinburne's hostile attitude towards religion is by far the grossest. In the Editor's preface to the "Journal of Sir Walter Scott" appears the following paragraph:

There is no longer any reason why the "Journal" should not be published in its entirety and . . . it now appears exactly as Scott left it, but for the correction of obvious slips of the pen and the omission of some details, chiefly of family and domestic interest.

Note carefully the six last words. The editor does not say "solely," but "*chiefly* of family and domestic interest." The meaning is transparent—the passages omitted do in the main refer to family and domestic matters, *but there are others besides*.

Now among these "other" omissions is an entry (under date of February 28, 1829, to be found in Lockhart's "Life of Scott" on p. 697) suggested by the Catholic Emancipation Agitation, an entry in which Sir Walter makes some remarks depreciatory of Catholicity. Certainly the great novelist's friends would wish for his own sake that the passage in question had never been penned. But there are excuses to be made for him. Emancipation was a Whig measure, and Scott was a pronounced Tory. His animus, therefore, was perhaps political rather than religious. Again, the "Popery" against which Scott declaimed was no more like Catholicity than the critic Swinburne is like the critic Coleridge. The one is a burlesque, the other a reality. The only "Popery" known to Scott was a travesty which three centuries of Protestant calumny originated, and which Mr. Swinburne is doing his best to perpetuate. There can be but little doubt that Scott, had he known the Catholic Church as his descendants know it, would have joined it as they have joined it. For he had the courage of his convictions. He would not, like so many modern Anglicans, have repudiated the Protestantism which is the sole *raison d'être* of the heresy to which they belong, and yet have remained outside the Catholic Church on the ridiculous plea that their own sect is a section of it. Whether or not the editor of the "Journal"

was well advised in omitting the paragraph in question is perhaps open to dispute; but to say that he concealed or denied the omission is to trifle with words and to gamble away reason. This, however, is what Mr. Swinburne has to say about the matter (p. 23):

The whole of the passage above transcribed [from Lockhart] has been cancelled. The editor who erased it had not even the grace to indicate the omission by the last pitiful resource of asterisks—the final and inadequate fig-leaf with which modesty might have attempted to cover the nakedness of mendacity.

Now, as every reader must ask himself, what can any one expect to gain by the translucent treachery of such a transpicuous imposture? We know that when religion is in question we must not appeal to reason. We know that faith is above all restrictions of carnal honesty, all obligations of worldly honour. But who, in the name of Tartuffe, can imagine that his holy cause will be profitably served by tactics too densely disingenuous, too stolid in their audacity, for an Escobar or a Liguori? Everybody reads Lockhart—everybody, at least, who does not write for the *Quarterly Review*. “Thou shalt tell a lie and stick to it,” was once, we are told, the schoolboy’s eleventh commandment; but the dullest of dullards on the lowest seat of the lowest form can hardly have ever expected to save his skin by a lie which would have provoked its inevitable confutation in the very instant and by the very fact of its utterance. Such evidences of desperation in decay must naturally provoke, in all but the most bilious of pessimists, a trust, a faith, a confidence that the happy day of righteous doom is drawing steadily nearer

Où l'on se servira des entrailles du pape,
À défaut d'un cordon, pour étrangler Calvin.

It is a cause for wonder that English men and women can read with pleasure, and still more that English critics can review with approval the works of an author who is willing to degrade himself by such rambling ribaldry and such a jumble of nonsense as this. Let the following brief remarks on the above paragraphs of his suffice:

First. The passage in question in the “Journal” has not been either “cancelled” or “erased,” since the editor never printed it.

Secondly. If the indication of omission by asterisks is a “last pitiful resource,” why has Mr. Swinburne continually used asterisks—for example, twice on p. 264?

Thirdly. There is here neither mendacity, nor the very

faintest shadow of excuse to allege mendacity, for any mind not thrown off its balance by bigotry. "The translucent treachery of transpicuous imposture" is a charge as ridiculous as Mr. Swinburne's English is grotesque.

Fourthly. The assertion that "when religion is in question we must not appeal to reason" is true in a sense not contemplated by Mr. Swinburne, and yet illustrated in his person. There are men in whom religion cannot appeal to reason for the same reason that you cannot capture a dodo. But the statement in the particular signification here intended by Mr. Swinburne is false, heretical, and absurd.

Fifthly. The charge of mendacity brought so flippantly against Escobar and St. Alphonsus Liguori proves that Mr. Swinburne can condescend to take a leaf out of the discredited books of the discredited Dr. Littledale. But Mr. Swinburne, as already pointed out, has a taste of his own, natural rather than acquired, for imputing falsehood to others. While truthful men shrink from even uttering the word "lie," it is ever in Mr. Swinburne's mouth. He has charged falsehood against Scott himself (p. 8); against Victor Hugo (p. 217); against Mr. Gladstone (p. 5); against Byron (p. 8); against Carlyle (p. 5); against the author of "The Passionate Pilgrim" (p. 90); against the editor of Scott's "Journal," against Escobar, against Saint Alphonsus. I venture to say that the last named two had a higher notion, both in theory and in practice, of truth than it has ever entered into Mr. Swinburne's mind, even in his most enlightened moments, to conceive of.

"Studies in Prose and Poetry" have now made it, once and for all, abundantly clear that Mr. Swinburne is inaccurate, exaggerated, extravagant, never in the mean. "Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong." All his geese are magnified into mighty and melodious swans, and all his swans are diminished into the tiniest and most tuneless humming birds.

So over-violent or over-civil,
That every man with him is God or devil.

With him the imputation of sickliness, falsehood, meanness, or malignity, is merely the Swinburnian way of saying that some one else ventures to hold a view divergent from Mr. Swinburne's. When, for example, he wants to make known

his dissent from the accepted opinion that Sir Walter Scott's latest works are unworthy of his great genius, he expresses it thus :

No more stupid and beetle-headed *falsehood* ever crawled into hearing and hardened into tradition than that which has condemned his latest works to oblivion and contempt.

And it is painful to find that Mr. Swinburne considers this style of writing to be congenial to the tastes of the British public, for on page 289 he confesses that "reiteration of plaudit and panegyric is more tedious, it may be feared, more wearisome and unwelcome to the average reader or hearer than reiteration of invective and reviling."

Mr. Swinburne is, besides, in the highest degree aggressive ; yet he is not a formidable opponent. His attempts to put an antagonist to the blush bring only shame upon himself. He is bluff, blunt, and blundering ; but he is no master of dialectical fence ; he has no command of subtle irony, or trenchant sarcasm, or biting insinuation, or cutting innuendo, or delicate raillery, or playful mockery. He can caricature and travesty, but only in the Hudibrastic vein. He has never learned to

Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer.

He is willing to wound and not afraid to strike, but his weapon is not the rapier but the bludgeon, with which he lays about him in a boisterous, riotous, roistering way. "Reserved to blame or to commend" is a canon which meets not with Mr. Swinburne's approval ; on the contrary, he is a very Stentor in the delivery of his literary judgments. He has none of that reserve of strength which is ever behind real power, but into every blow he puts his whole force and, like Entellus,

Vires in ventum effudit, et ultro
Ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto concidit.

In consequence he is passionate when he should be pathetic, violent instead of vigorous, comic when he means to be severe, and turgid when he is aiming at the sublime. When demolishing an adversary—often the creation of his own imagination, some man of straw set up to be buffeted—he flings to the

winds reticence and reverence, loses self-control and self-respect, tears a passion to tatters, o'erdoes Termagant, and outhierods Herod.

Staring tremendous with a threatening eye,
Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry.

At his best in this volume of prose, Mr. Swinburne is a singer out of his element, who treats us to notes that are sweet but nothing more; his tuneful mill grinds away mellifluously and monotonously through three hundred pages, with much din but with little grist; he exhibits himself as a skilful marshal of verbose phrases, in which sound is to sense in the proportion of Jack Falstaff's consumption of sack to that same worthy's consumption of bread.* The style wearies by its ceaseless and obvious straining after effect: it is melodious without being harmonious, a garish style covered all over, like an Eastern temple, with unrelieved and meretricious ornament—all paint and no polish. But at his worst Mr. Swinburne's defects of taste and temper betray him into a rhetoric that is voluble, redundant, extravagant; ludicrously alliterative; rhythmic as blank verse slightly disordered, and occasionally rhymeful as a nursery ballad; not formless indeed, but void, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing. Mr. Swinburne rarely praises but his praise is nearly always exaggerated; generally he is peremptory, overbearing, aggressive; sometimes personal; and occasionally prurient.

I have charged Mr. Swinburne with an anti-religious bias, but let me do him full justice. He was not always adverse to religion. His mention of *Tartuffe*, in a passage quoted above, reminds us of that anecdote in his "Recollections of Professor Jowett," in which he relates, with affecting artlessness, how he and the Professor once toiled together at the compilation of a *Children's Bible*.

Professor Jowett asked me to assist him; and it certainly cannot be necessary to add how glad I was to do so, or how much and how naturally gratified by all the cordial compliments he paid . . . I dare not say to my scriptural scholarship, but I will say to my thorough familiarity with sundry parts of the sacred text.

* Sack, two gallons, 5s. 8d.; item, bread, ½d.

They differed, however, as to what was suited to "the prehensile fancy" of children, and at last with a smile the Professor said to the Poet: "I wanted you to help me to make this book smaller, and you have persuaded me to make it much larger!"

What a scene for an artist! The Broad Church translator of Plato and the No Church author of "Poems and Ballads," poring with heads together over the inspired page, lifting up hands and eyes in prayer for light and leading, and at times raising their voices in duets of sacred psalmody, as they cull choice passages from the Scriptures for the delectation and edification of little children! To that picture no artist could do justice other than a Hudibras or a Hogarth.

CHARLES COUPE, S.J.

ART. VI.—WELSH CHURCH HISTORY BY NON-CATHOLIC WRITERS.

A History of the Church of the Cymry. Part I. Roman and Anglo-Saxon Periods. By the Rev. WILLIAM HUGHES, Vicar of Llanuwchllyn. Elliot Stock. 1894.

THE Scripture text which, by way of motto, figures on the title-page of this work, is highly significant. It is the following: "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls" (Jer. vi. 16).

That such a motto as the above should be prefixed to an Anglican handbook of Church history, is indeed a sign of the times, and reminds us that our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen recognise in antiquity a characteristic of genuine Christianity. The Reformers may have boasted of their "new learning," Nonconformists and agnostics may speak of the past as an age of mental bondage; but, if there is one fact of our religious history more evident than another, it is that the Anglicanism of to-day feels the necessity of robing itself in the vestments of antiquity. Whether the vesture of latter-day Anglicanism be in part the spoil of the Catholic sacristy, and in part woven out of the imagination of Anglican theorists, is a question to which we shall direct our attention; but meantime there is the fact that the Established Church of England to-day claims, what seventy years ago it energetically repudiated—to be the heir of our country's Catholic past.

Hence the Rev. William Hughes stands before his fellow-countrymen, "in the face of the sun, the eye of light," and calls to them that the ways of Anglicanism are the old paths, in which they must walk if they would attain salvation. Needless to say, it is to the Nonconformists of Wales that Mr. Hughes is calling. He knows the innate Celtic veneration for antiquity, and he believes that if he could persuade the Welsh Nonconformists that the Church of England is the Church of their British forefathers, he would be half-way towards effecting their reconciliation with his own sect.

It is unfortunate for our author that the Establishment within the Principality proclaims itself, by its very title, an alien institution. It declares that it is, not the Church of Wales, but the Church of England located in Wales. None the less, Welsh Anglicanism (the phrase is unavoidable) aspires to be considered a genuine product of the Cambrian soil, and even to be in fact the Ancient British Church surviving in the nineteenth century. Thus it is that Mr. Hughes designates the religious body to which he belongs as *yr hén Fam*—"the old Mother"—and indeed writes of it in just such endearing language as we might suppose a Welshman in Elizabeth's reign to use concerning the Catholic Church in his native land. He says, moreover, that to term "the Church in Wales" an alien is "the latest fiction advanced in support of her disestablishment."

Here we must join issue with the author. There is a wealth of contemporary evidence to show that from the first beginnings of the national schism under Henry, down through the State-fostered apostasy of Edward and Elizabeth, to the ecclesiastical anglicisation enforced by the Hanoverian sovereigns, first Catholic and then Protestant Welshmen all along cried out that the Establishment was an outrage upon their sentiment of nationality, the foisting of an English ideal upon a dissentient though subject people. It was no less a personage than the much-discussed Barlow, bishop-elect of St. David's, who wrote to Thomas Cromwell urging him to remove the episcopal see from that city to Carmarthen, "where the Welsh rudeness would soon be framed to English civility, and their corrupt capacities easily reformed with godly intelligence." The reason assigned by Barlow for this proposal was that St. David's

hath been always esteemed a delicate daughter of Rome, naturally resembling her mother in shameless confusion, and like qualified with other perverse properties of execrable malignity, as ungodly image-service, abominable idolatry, and licentious liberty of dishonest living, popish pilgrimages, deceitful pardons and feigned indulgences; in whose laud it is written: "Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum." Wherefore, considering that Rome with all her popish pageants (praised be God!) through the King's most prudent provision is exiled forth of England, the unfeigned fidelity of mine allegiance enforceth me to wish all memorial monuments of her puppetry in like manner to be

banished out of Wales, which, hitherto remaining the territory of St. David, scarcely may be extinct without translation of the see.

In another letter the State Bishop informs his master how he had seized and was forwarding to London the relics of St. David and St. Nonna, the image of our Lady of Cardigan, and other objects venerated by the irreformable Papists of South Wales.*

Documents like the above (and there are many such) are ample warrant for applying the epithet "alien" to the Established Church in Wales, and they enable us to do so without justly incurring the charge of propagating "late fiction."

Several Anglicans have within recent years written books similar in tone and purport to this work by Mr. Hughes. Most of them are popular "Church Defence" manuals, and, by the amazing travesties of history which they present, betray little learning on the part of their authors, and assume still less on that of the reading public. "Anglican continuity," indeed, is an ideal formulated for the benefit of that numerous and uncritical section of British Protestants which is led more by catchwords and neat theories than by logic or research, and hence is better adapted for shilling handbooks than for scientific histories or antiquarian monographs. Few, very few, of the learned men who lead the way in archaeological and historical studies have in their writings stated or assumed the identity of the present Establishment with the pre-Reformation Church of England—even when they have heaped their learned scorn upon the arrogance and unreasonableness of "the Roman claims." While giving our estimate of Mr. Hughes's contribution to history, we should like to call attention to the writings of another writer, Mr. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., who presents the rather unusual spectacle of one who combines considerable historic learning with bitter antagonism to the Catholic Church.

Mr. Willis-Bund has within the last few years written a goodly number of archaeological essays on the subject of early Celtic Christianity, and his writings evince deep scientific

* "Letters relating to the Protestant Reformation in Wales," in *Cambrian Journal*, quoting from Domestic State Papers.

research in this much neglected department of history. He takes a keen interest in the religion of the ancient Britons and Irish, and loves to dwell upon the curious details of their worship and discipline. But Mr. Willis-Bund's otherwise valuable studies are marred by a quite abnormal antipathy to Rome and Latin Christianity, which leads him to imagine in everything Roman an inherent and aggressive principle of evil. To him "the Latin Church" of early mediæval times was an ecclesiastical roaring lion which went about seeking what interesting primitive Churches it might devour. There were the Celts, innocently delighting in their quaint and curious native religious usages, doing no harm to anybody; but prowling around their borders was the Latin lion, ever meditating mischief, little by little encroaching upon their peaceful pastures, and swallowing down into its insatiate maw, one after another, the exceedingly ancient and charming liturgical and disciplinary peculiarities of the Welsh, the Bretons and the Irish. Not the least extraordinary point about Mr. Willis-Bund's Church history is the fact that, in claiming certain ecclesiastical rights over the Celts, and in enforcing certain changes in their modes of worship or in their monastic rules, Rome was never by any chance right, but always wrong, aggressive, arrogant and intolerant. Mr. Willis-Bund tells us, for instance (and probably his main facts are correct), that the mother-church of Llandaff was anciently dedicated in the name of its original founder, the chorepiscopus Eliud, whom later ages have known as Saint Teilo; but that Urban, the first "Latin bishop" set over that see by the Anglo-Normans, full of the arrogance of his class, took advantage of the cathedral's reconstruction to dedicate it to Saint Peter.* The learned writer does not assert that the ancient Welsh failed in due reverence for the Prince of the Apostles; nor does he deny that the new dedication preserved, along with the names of SS. Peter and Paul, those of S. Teilo and his two British successors; but the tone of his article is one of indignation against the Latin innovators—partly because they were (he considers) innovators, but even more because they were Latins. He writes in a similar strain about the "alleged" journey of the Welsh King Hywel Dda to Rome,

* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1893; "The Teilo Churches."

to obtain the Pope's confirmation for his revised code of the British laws. This Mr. Willis-Bund thinks is "in all probability a later interpolation by some mediæval copyist, for the words are wanting in some of the MSS."—in accordance with a well-known canon of historic criticism, adopted by certain Anglican writers, that whatever supports "the Papal claims" has been interpolated by monkish scribes. This simple rule cannot, we think, be successfully applied to the story of King Hywel's journey to Rome. Among the Welsh chronicles and other national writings contained in the "Archæology of Wales" (new ed., Gee, Denbigh, 1870), there are five which make mention of Hywel Dda and his laws. The "Brut y Tywysogion" is the first of them. It has these words: "In the year of Christ nine hundred and twenty King Howel the Good, son of Cadell, went to Rome" (p. 603). The next document goes by the same name as the last, but is an entirely different and more modern version. In it (p. 689) we find Hywel's journey to Rome narrated in considerable detail; and it is interesting to note what, according to this more modern account, was the reason of the Welsh king's taking his laws to the world's old metropolis:

And the cause of their going thither was to confer *with wise men* how the laws of the land of Wales might be improved, and to know the laws of other countries and cities, and the laws which the *Emperors of Rome* previously had in the island of Britain in the time of their sovereignty.

The third MS. is called "Brut Ieuan Brechfa." Like the last, this chronicle is written in quite a modern form of Welsh—apparently not older than the last century; and it follows the newer "Brut y Tywysogion" in declaring that Hywel's object in taking his laws to Rome was "to confer with wise men and divines" (p. 717). Let us now see what our fourth authority says about the matter. This is the "Triodd Cyvraith," or "Triads of Law." Its orthography is very much older than that of the two last documents we have cited, and seems to date, in its present form, from the beginning of the sixteenth century. We may add that its repeated invocations of S. David, and other markedly archaic features, are certain evidence of its derivation from a much more ancient original. This MS. gives a detailed account of the journey to Rome, and says that Hywel Dda and his counsellors

went to Anastacius at Rome, to read the law and to examine whether any of it was against the law of God ; and because nothing was opposed thereto, it was found worthy [deilyngwyd], and was called the Law of Hywel the Good from that time forward. . . . And it was in the year 914 that Hywel Dda the king went to Rome to confirm his laws. . . .

Finally, we come to the Welsh Laws themselves, which were long ago printed *in extenso* by the English Government. The best version of them, there is no valid reason to doubt, is a substantially accurate transcript of Hywel's original code ; and the MS. we quote from evidently, from its orthography and construction, dates from the fifteenth century. The following is the way in which it speaks of the visit to Rome :

And they went even unto Rome, to take the authorisation of ths Pope of Rome [awdurdawt pab Ruvein] for the laws of Howel. And then were read the laws of Howel in the presence of the Pope of Rome ; and the Pope was satisfied with them and gave his authorisation to them ; and Howel and his companions came home. And from that time to the present day the laws of Howel the Good are in force (p. 993).

Now, it will be understood that we are not citing a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century document to prove a tenth-century fact. We are pointing out that when Mr. Willis-Bund rejects the story of Hywel's journey to Rome as a late interpolation, on the ground that it is "wanting in some of the MSS.," he is oblivious of the fact that it is found in the oldest and most important ones, while its wording has been significantly altered in those which are more recent. Bearing in mind the distinctly Roman sympathies of the oldest extant Welsh national records and traditions, there is no obvious necessity for suspecting "late interpolations" of Popish sentiment ; but for the very same reason the falsifications of post-Reformation copyists can be at once detected. The fact that the ancient copies of the Welsh MSS. represent Hywel as submitting his laws to the Pope, to see if they contained aught contrary to the law of God, while the modern ones say that Hywel went to Rome to confer with the wise men of other cities, shows that "monkish interpolators" have had their imitators in later times.

Mr. Hughes's erudition leaves much to be desired. This may sound ungracious, but it is impossible to think highly of the attainments of a present-day writer who not only believes in Druids, but who also holds to the theory (invented by the

imaginative Dr. Borlase in the last century) that the cromlechs were Druidical altars, on which the mistletoe-garlanded high priests immolated human victims. A gentleman who believes in sacrifices offered on cromlechs, may well repose a childlike faith in "Anglican continuity." Not a single modern antiquary of repute would think of denying that cromlechs are the chambers of sepulchral tumuli, and most archæologists are of opinion that these monuments are the work, not of Britons, nor even of the earlier Gaelic inhabitants of Britain, but of some pre-Aryan people of the neolithic stage of civilisation. As for Professor Rhys, the cautious and reliable Oxford Celticist, who is the supreme authority in this country on primitive British history, he holds it for certain that Druidism was not the ancient religion of the Britons at all.* Before Mr. Hughes sat down to instruct his fellow-countrymen in the religious history of their forefathers, he should have made himself acquainted with the groundwork of his subject. So far from having done so, he takes British Druidism for granted, and proceeds to postulate a sort of Anglican continuity with the Druids, for whose supposed tenets he seems to feel an almost enthusiastic admiration. This is all consistent enough, for, if we are to weave the daisy-chain of continuity, it is well to have it as complete as may be. "An Arch-Druid," our author tells us, "occupied the position of a pope or primate." This dignity possessed "the power of excommunicating," and he and his venerable brethren even wore a kind of surplice, and a garment "like a cassock." Vestments are a valuable link in the chain.

Mr. Hughes's book presents us with an engraving of a "Druidical priest offering a human sacrifice." The Druids are not known to have sacrificed human victims, and certainly did not do so on cromlechs.

Mr. Hughes rightly lays stress upon the immense influence exercised upon British society by the long rule of the Romans. He even quotes a passage in Schlegel's "Philosophy of History," in which the German philosopher says :

The Roman Empire was the third foundation-stone of the Christian religion; for its vast extent facilitated in a singular manner the early

* "Celtic Britain," p. 69.

and very rapid diffusion of Christianity, and formed indeed the groundwork on which the fabric of the new Church was constructed.

Very true; but why then do Anglican controversialists ignore Rome and all her powerful moulding of ancient British thought and culture, so soon as it becomes a question of Rome's Christianity? Thoroughly Romanised as the Britons were socially and intellectually, Anglicans cannot bring themselves to admit that the British Church owed anything to the imperial city except a moral preparation. They allow that the Roman Emperor levelled the ground, but dare not admit that the Roman Bishop laid the foundations. The Britons may have received the Faith from Lyons, from S. Paul, from S. Joseph of Arimathea—from any point of the compass so it be not that of Rome.

We wonder whether Mr. Willis-Bund, with his instinctive aversion against anything Latin, has adequately weighed the influence of Rome in the first foundation of the Christian Faith in Britain. In deprecating "Latin aggression" in the Isles of the West, does he wish us to assume that the Celtic Church was not a portion of the Latin Church, at every stage of its history? He is aware that Caerleon was a prominent ecclesiastical centre of the British Church, and that it owed its religious importance solely to its position as the chief Roman colony in Western Britain; nor is he ignorant that the Britons used no liturgy save one which was Latin in language and Roman in its structure. But Mr. Willis-Bund must carry on, in the solid columns of a Welsh antiquarian quarterly, the anti-Roman war.

Mr. Hughes is singularly unfortunate in his illustrations of the intimate connection which he supposes to exist between Anglicanism and the Church of the Britons. Speaking of S. Alban's Abbey, he says, "Here are enshrined the remains of SS. Alban and Amphibalus, to whose tombs pilgrimages were made for centuries from all parts of Christendom." It is surely curious that he has not asked himself why those pilgrimages have been discontinued. The reason is not merely that other "parts of Christendom" consider the worship now conducted in the abbey-church non-Catholic and heretical; for we of the old religion still make visits of devotion to the tomb of the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, and to that of

S. Teilo at Llandaff. The reason why pilgrimages are not now made to S. Alban's shrine is that S. Alban's relics are no longer there, having been taken out and thrown away by authority of that religious body which now claims to be the "English Branch of the Church Catholic." At the same time that this sacrilege was committed, the beautiful and costly shrine was broken in pieces, and the fragments buried beneath the pavement; where they lay until they were discovered and pieced together with marvellous skill by the late eminent restorer of the abbey-church. Hence Mr. Hughes's placid assertion that our protomartyr's body still reposes at this spot only reminds one (if it may be said without irreverence) of the Lincolnshire epitaph:

Here lie the remains
Of Gregory Baines,
Who was buried out at sea, &c.

The great Pugin considered vacant niches to be typical of Protestantism. Restored but empty architectural shrines are characteristic of the age of Ritualistic Protestantism, with its elaborate externals signifying no doctrine, its roods which bear no Crucifix, its stoups devoid of holy water, and its "dummy" tabernacles. But why did not Mr. Hughes reflect on all this before he made his unhappy allusion to S. Alban's shrine?

It is a strong point with Mr. Willis-Bund that the Church of the Celts was, as to its government, monastic rather than episcopal. Although we think him inclined to over-estimate the position of abbot among the ancient Welsh and Irish, there can be no doubt that the office of a bishop among the Celts in some minor particulars differed from that which obtained in other parts of the Western Church. The primitive Celtic Bishop had no cathedral; he had simply a diocese, and itinerated from church to church within it, wherever his supervision was required; his Evangelium, his little square bell of hammered bronze, and his crooked staff, forming perhaps the main portion of his portable property. Austere in discipline, severe in penance, impervious to bodily fatigue, eloquent in preaching, and ardent in controversy; such was the typical British bishop of the native race. But contemporary with the purely Celtic chorepiscopus—and indeed preceding him in the history of

British Christianity—was the Romano-Celtic occupant of one or other of the great sees established in the capitals of the several Imperial provinces of Britain, viz., Caerleon, London and York. Each of these cities was the seat of a bishop, whose position corresponded more exactly with the episcopal office familiar to the Latin Church as a whole. The bishopric of Caerleon, the chief Roman colony in *Britannia Secunda*, must almost necessarily have been filled, during the first centuries of its history, by prelates who were purely or partly Romans by birth or education, and upon whose ministrations the Roman Christians had the first claim; and to Caerleon it was that, after the final departure of the Imperial legions, the later Britons looked for the exercise of primatial authority over their Church. All this is so certain a matter of history, that we wonder how Mr. Willis-Bund can theorise about “Latin encroachments” on the native British ecclesiastical system. Even Mr. Hughes realises the extent to which Roman ideas and methods built up and permeated British institutions, both civil and religious; and, with the infatuation which characterises Continuityism, cites this very circumstance in support of his own views! “The large infusion of Latin into the Welsh language shows,” writes this author, “how thoroughly the Roman conquest made itself felt in Britain.” He might have gone a step further truthward, and added that the overwhelming predominance of words of Latin derivation in Welsh religious and ecclesiastical terminology shows how thoroughly the Christianity of Britain was blended with that of Rome, or rather, how entirely it was moulded by the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches.

The misapprehensions to which writers like Mr. Hughes are so characteristically subject is illustrated by his curious remark that “with all his virtues, Teilo appears to have lacked Christian fortitude,” because he went to Brittany when the Yellow Plague broke out in Wales. Saint Teilo needs no apologist, but we might ask Mr. Hughes whether he would have had the great fifth-century Bishop of Llandaff remain in his diocese when it was depopulated?

Mr. Hughes’s readiness to adduce all kinds of late Welsh documentary evidence in support of his anti-Roman views, is matched by his careful avoidance of the MSS. which tell of

Welsh devotion to the successors of Saint Peter. It is a noteworthy fact that it is precisely the oldest British documents which insist most strongly on the Papal character of the Celtic religion. But the sort of thing which Mr. Hughes prefers to reproduce is the supposed "letter of the Abbot Dinooth" to the Pope, after the British Bishops' conference with St. Augustine—a clumsy forgery made up in the days of Henry the Eighth, as anybody can see at once by the orthography of the Welsh in which it is written, as well as by the form in which its sentiments are expressed. Mr. Hughes himself disclaims, though with evident reluctance, any belief in the reality of this lying epistle, which he tells us he inserts "not on account of its genuineness, but as a curious and interesting document." We must not be surprised at Mr. Hughes publishing confessedly fraudulent testimony, when even Haddan and Stubbs reproduce the same (with the like half-hearted disclaimer) among their historical evidences.

Here we come upon an accumulation of confusion and misstatement. Mr. Hughes thinks

we need not concern ourselves as to the exact terms in which the Protest was worded, when it is an admitted fact that the Welsh Bishops so resisted the assumed authority of Augustine that, according to Bede, the absolute grant of jurisdiction given to him by the Pope over the British Church was suppressed, if Bede's narrative be trusted, and (it must be supposed) from less worthy motives.

And he finishes up by quoting a note from Haddan and Stubbs ("Councils," i. 152) which runs thus :

unless indeed we are to infer that in real fact it [the protest] was brought forward, and was the rock upon which the conference was wrecked, an interpretation of Bede's narrative not unlikely, and actually adopted by the tradition represented in Dinooth's alleged answer.

A characteristic *pot-pourri* from the historic cuisine of writers of this class ! To a pinch of fact add a tablespoonful of anti-Roman prejudice ; pour in an infusion of Haddan and Stubbs, stirring gently with Bede (your own version). Sprinkle with insinuations and conjectures, then mix thoroughly. The British public are asked to swallow it.

It is perhaps superfluous for us to say that not a single word in the writings of the Ven. Bede can lead the ordinary
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reader to suppose S. Augustine "suppressed" anything whatever, in his conference with the British Bishops; nor can a gratuitous inference of the learned editors of the "Councils" add any strength to the supposition, even by raising "Dinot's alleged Answer" to the dignity of a "tradition." It is doubtful whether S. Augustine, at the time of the celebrated conference, had as yet received from the Pope authority over the bishops of Britain; and it is still more doubtful whether S. Gregory desired his missionary's jurisdiction to extend over the ancient Church of the Welsh. Far more likely the expression "bishops of Britain," in the Pope's letter to S. Augustine, meant the future bishops whom by the same letter S. Augustine was empowered to consecrate for the country of the Anglo-Saxons. It is no less true that the mediæval Church of Wales continuously struggled against the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Canterbury, than that the earliest British Christians were thoroughly in union with Rome. And it is this ancient opposition of the Welsh to the ecclesiastical dominance of their English oppressors, that we first begin to trace in the refusal of the British Bishops to co-operate with S. Augustine in preaching the Gospel to the Teutonic "comelings" who were threatening to annihilate the last remnant of the original inhabitants. Yet on a such a slender foundation stands the Anglican theory of an independent national Church of the ancient Britons, which, in some unexplained way, is assumed to be the germ of the present Reformed and Established Church of England.

JOHN HOBSON MATTHEWS.

ART. VII.—PAPAL SUPREMACY AT THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

IN two articles of this REVIEW (April and July 1892) we considered the bearings of the history of the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) on the Anglican appeal to the Primitive Church. To the positions there maintained, as enlarged and embodied in a work on the Primitive Church,* an answer has recently been made in our esteemed contemporary, the *Church Quarterly Review*. There is one point in this answer which we propose to examine with some minuteness, by way of showing that this critic's presentment of primitive history fails in accuracy, and in appreciation of one or two important points in the teaching of the Catholic Church. He discusses the question whether when the Council met it acted as Celestine (the Pope's) "instrument and minister." It will be our endeavour to show how far such expressions can be used of the relation between the Pope and the Council in A.D. 431.

The action of the Council in reference to Nestorius divides itself into two portions, each of them marked by a Synodical report to the Emperor. The first of these portions comprises only the first Act, as the technical term is; the second embraces the second and third Acts.

The Council met without the Papal legates, who were detained on the high seas by stormy weather. Contrary to the Emperor's wish, nay, in defiance of it, Cyril presided. The question is raised whether he presided as commissioned by the Pope, or of his own accord. Our critic thinks that "Cyril was not likely to be punctilious in such a matter, and might well assume that Celestine would not disavow him on that head." It is clear from Celestine's letter inserted at the end of the second Act that he did mean Cyril to be president. But it is also certain that some communication had passed between Celestine and Cyril on this head, or else that it was

* "The Primitive Church and the See of Peter." By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. Longmans & Co. 1894.

universally acknowledged that the original commission to Cyril involved the presidency of the Council. Cyril could not possibly have assumed the presidency under the circumstances unless such were the case. We know, however, from Cyril and the Synod that such was the case, for the Synod in its letter to the Emperor, expressly says that Celestine "sent Cyril to take his place." This must be considered decisive against our critic, and relieves Cyril of the want of "punctiliousness," to which he attributes Cyril's occupancy of the office of president.*

The next point is the relation of the Pope, not merely to Cyril, but to the whole Council. We will give the writer, whom we are criticising, the advantage of a full statement of his objection to the usual teaching on this head in his own terms. He says:

Let us look at the conduct of the Bishops assembled. Did they regard themselves as simply Celestine's agents for the carrying out of his previous sentence against a heretic? This must have been their view if, however erroneously, they had regarded the commission of August as "devolving" upon them. They would then have had one, and only one, question to ask: Had Nestorius, at the expiration of his term of grace, given satisfaction to Cyril, and therefore to Celestine? Five minutes would have sufficed for proving that he had done the very contrary; and then the Council would have promulgated the Papal sentence, and proceeded to take measures for the filling up of the vacant Constantinopolitan See.

And further:

Instead of simply accepting Cyril's and Celestine's estimate of the language used by Nestorius, and treating it as already proved to be heretical, they professedly inquired whether his letter to Cyril was, like Cyril's own letter, "in accordance with what was put forth by the Holy Father in Nicœa": they condemned it as "wholly contrary" to that standard and to Cyril's second letter: they heard evidence as to his recent reiteration of heresy, &c.

This, the writer thinks, proves that the Papal sentence was not the form to which they had to conform their judgment, not irreversible, not final, but open to revision.

* Cf. also the "*Menologium Græcorum 9 Junii*," thus given in the Latin by Palmieri: "*Natalis S. Cyrilli viri eruditissimi, catholicæ fidei propugnatoris fidei, quem Supremus Pontifex Cælestinus idoneum judicavit, cui suas vices in Ephesino Concilio delegavit.*"

To show the futility of this objection, it will be advisable to state briefly the office of the Episcopate in a General Council, on occasions when the subject in hand has been already defined by the Supreme Pontiff.

According to Catholic teaching the Bishops in Council have, after a definitive sentence by the Roman Pontiff, an office of examination, and a right to pass judgment. Their examination, however, is not of that kind which springs from any doubt as to the justice or truth of the Pontifical judgment. It presupposes the binding nature of that. But since every examination is grounded on some doubt, or supposes something that needs clearing up, what is the doubt from which such examination on the part of the Bishops proceeds? The answer is that whilst the sentence is held to be true, the motives that guide it may be profitably investigated, not to know whether they are just, but simply what they are.* As an instance of the first kind of examination which proceeds from doubt as to the truth of an assertion, we might take the case of one who is in doubt as to the immortality of the soul, as he searches for motives of credibility. But a man may begin with a firm belief that the soul is immortal, and yet examine keenly into the motives which would reasonably lead to such a belief, especially if he had to teach. It would be a case either of *fides querens intellectum*, or of searching for material for teaching.

And in the case of Bishops in a Synod, such investigation as this last, when faith seeks to discover the confirmatory harmonies of intellectual proof, there is a very obvious reason for such procedure. As Bishops they have to teach, and ought to be able to produce the proofs from Scripture and tradition and from the analogy of the faith, in the case of a dogma which they would pronounce to be true, on sufficient authority, even if ignorant of these elucidating considerations. An instance of this kind of investigation is to be seen in the treatment of the dogma of Transubstantiation. It had been always part of the deposit. When Berenger first started an opposing theory, our own Lanfranc showed him that he was striking against the belief of all ages. It was, he proved, of

* Cf. Palmieri, S.J., "De Romano Pontifice," 1891, p. 684 *seq.*

Divine faith. The particular term was made part of the Catholic faith at the fourth Lateran Council. And yet, three centuries afterwards, the Council of Trent entered upon an investigation of its harmony with Scripture and tradition. Every one of the Tridentine fathers held the judgment of 1215 to be irreversible; that is to say, every one of them believed Transubstantiation to be a matter of faith before it was subjected to this fresh investigation. But in view of surrounding and increasing Protestantism, it was considered necessary to examine it in relation to other truths. As St. Leo says of the examination of his own dogmatic exposition of the faith at the Council of Chalcedon, "the truth shines brighter, and is held with firmer hold, when what faith had first taught examination has afterwards confirmed." (Ep. ad Theodor.)

The Bishops, then, are assembled in Council not that they may believe, but that they may act as judges and propose their judgment with authority. They are authoritative teachers, not of themselves infallible, nor supreme in authority; but their judgment, nevertheless, has weight and authority, for they are set over their flocks by the Holy Ghost. And they come to a Council not to see whether the judgment of the Roman Pontiff (if it has preceded theirs) is true, but, whilst using that as their form (*τύπος*), to make an honest use of their judgment, and add it to that of the Pontiff. The very idea of the Church is, that she contains a successive and permanent series of witnesses owing to the grace of their consecration, but infallible only when in conjunction with the See of Peter. Their judgment in unison with his becomes a conciliar judgment, which has its own special office in rendering conspicuous the unity of the Church, and impressing the faithful with the divine character of the teaching of the Supreme Pontiff. Their judgment in the Synod is not that merely of theologians. These have no authority over the faithful through any grace of consecration; Bishops have. If any number of theologians were added on to the Supreme Pontiff, the authority would simply be that of one man. Not so with the Bishops; they are not the mere tools of the Supreme Pontiff. They are sheep, but also shepherds; taught, but also teachers; and the authority of their judgment added to that of the Roman Pontiff is the authority of a con-

ciliar judgment. This derives its infallibility from the See of Peter; but although the decision of the Holy See in a matter of faith delivered as obligatory on all, would of itself possess the seal of infallibility, it would not have the striking character of a conciliar judgment. The Episcopate is a reality in the Kingdom of God; and its judgments, however dependent for their infallibility on that of the Supreme Pontiff, have, nevertheless, a vitality of their own. Consequently, on the one hand, a General Council is never simply necessary, but is, on the other hand, in certain cases eminently useful. After the Pontifical sentence, the rest of the Episcopate will, as a matter of moral necessity, conform to it; but whilst thus not morally free, it is still a gain that the consent of all, which may be presumed as a matter of course, and is a moral necessity, should become evident and conspicuous in fact, so that sound doctrine may be the more easily defended, and the subtlety of heretics kept in subjection.*

It will be seen from this short exposition of the relation between Pope and Council in Catholic Theology, that the devolution of the Papal sentence against Nestorius on the Council, would not suppose the Bishops of the Council to be the agents and instruments and ministers of Celestine in such a way as that they had nothing to do but register his decision. They had to bring their office as judges into play. That decision was the type (*τύπος*) which they were morally bound to obey. The Pope's injunction to Cyril was, "assuming the authority of our See and acting with delegated power (this is the exact meaning of the Greek word) in our stead and place, you will execute a sentence of this sort, &c." And the Bishops distinctly say that they have conformed to this type, or decision, as we shall presently see. The essence of the decision was that Nestorius should be condemned, unless he repented; a detail of that sentence was, that it should take effect ten days after the notice had been served; but the circumstance of a Council having been summoned to meet, rendered a close adherence to this detail unadvisable. The Council did, as we have said, expressly state that it had adhered to Celestine's decision; but being bishops, with a capacity and duty of

* Cf. Palmieri, *loc. cit.*, and Jungmann's "Dissertatio de Concilio Ephesino."

judgment, they unfolded the motives which might be supposed to have guided the Pope and showed the grounds on which under the altered circumstances of the case that sentence necessarily stood. Their obedience would thus be seen to be materially just, as well as formally good.

They acted, then, as follows:

It was proposed that all that had passed between Nestorius and Cyril should be read, and then Celestine's judgment. Juvenal, however, the Bishop of Jerusalem, interposed, and proposed that the Imperial edict should first be read, and that it should be treated as the torch to go before them and give them light! In this he was acting contrary to ecclesiastical order.* It was indeed a mode of procedure which in lesser Councils had been frequently tolerated, on the understanding that the Imperial letters did not, in any particular case, contravene the Canons. But it was only tolerated, and was not the proper mode of procedure in this instance. Cyril, however, in the invidious position in which he found himself, gave in. But contrary to the Emperor's desire, he assumed the Presidency, and Candidian, the Imperial Count, left the Council, on the ground that the Emperor's orders were not going to be obeyed. Cyril now, considering that Nestorius had sufficiently shown his contumacy, proposed that they should at once begin the business of the Synod without him. But Theodotus, by way of rendering their action in the deposition of Nestorius as canonical as possible, proposed that Nestorius should be cited, and Cyril and the whole Synod agreed. Nestorius was thrice summoned, but in vain. The Bishops had now to carry out the Papal sentence. But there were hasty and there were deliberate methods. The affair, according to our critic, might have been done in five minutes. But the Bishops chose the most formal and deliberate method. They had to promulgate the excommunication of the Archbishop of the Imperial capital and the favourite of the Emperor, who had summoned them, as he considered, for the purpose of condemning Cyril and protecting Nestorius. Was it any wonder

* We here follow closely Christianus Lupus. See his invaluable work on "*Synodorum Decreta et Canones*," Venice, 1724, vol. i., Appendix on the Council of Ephesus. See also Hefele's "*Councils of the Church*," Eng. tr. vol. iii. p. 63.

that they desired to shelter themselves under canons, which were of themselves sufficient to render him liable to deposition? Was there anything derogatory to Papal authority, in their showing as Bishops, that Celestine had good reason for passing his authoritative decision? They accordingly read the Nicene Creed, against which, according to Celestine, he had offended. They read the writings of Nestorius and Cyril, which bore out the sentence of the Pope. It was necessary to read these first, as they contained the matter on which the Pope issued judgment, and some knowledge of them was accordingly necessary for a clear understanding of the sentence. On hearing these, the Bishops who had no doubt about Nestorius's heresy from the moment they entered the Church for their Synodical action, shouted their anathemas. The Pope's letter was then read in silence. The question now to be settled was whether this letter had been canonically served on Nestorius. And this was established by witnesses, who averred that on November 30th of the previous year they had presented it to the Archbishop. One further matter needed establishing, viz., had Nestorius continued impenitent? Two Bishops were prevailed upon to witness to this not by mere statement, but on oath. The ten days were over, and more than over, and Nestorius had uttered blasphemies in Ephesus itself. The Pope's sentence was, therefore, clearly binding. They now read the writings of various Fathers on the subject, to show that the judgment of Rome was in perfect accord with the Patristic testimony. There is nothing in the record to lead us to suppose that it was these that settled their own opinion; but these were proofs, for those who needed proof, that the Pontifical sentence was in fact, what in theory it was bound to be, just and true. Various writings of Nestorius were read (blasphemies, they were called before being read), showing how he had transgressed the teaching of the Fathers.

Now in all this there is nothing whatever but the action of men who wished to proceed in a judicial spirit, and to defend, in the eyes of the world, the sentence which they were thus executing in canonical fashion. There is nothing to suggest that they entertained a moment's doubt themselves as to the binding character of the sentence passed by Celestine. They

were part of an Apostolical succession: they had an office to perform as judges, though not supreme, but under the Supreme Pontiff; not infallible, except in conjunction with him. It was to be a common judgment of the Supreme Pontiff and the rest of the Episcopate. Before they took their seats in Synod, Nestorius was in their eyes a condemned man; he had been treated as one to be avoided, on his arrival at Ephesus, for he had been refused the use of a Catholic Church at Pentecost, a measure which sufficiently indicates that their subsequent action was not that of investigators of a "question," but promulgators of a foregone conclusion, met to promulge that conclusion in solemn, formal, canonical fashion. They accordingly, in issuing their formal sentence, describe it as due to two things—viz., the requirements of the canons and the letter of Celestine. Their words are "necessarily compelled both by the canons and by the letter of our most holy father and fellow minister, Celestine."

Our critic here urges that they do not, by this expression, "co-ordinate" the canons and the letter. It is strange that this same writer argues that Eusebius, by mentioning "the Bishops in Italy and (the Bishop) of the City of Rome" together, co-ordinate the two. But here he argues that the bishops could not mean to co-ordinate the canons and the Papal letter, because, as a matter of fact, the bishops (he contends) had not rendered "literal" obedience to Celestine's letter. But surely the bishops were the best judges of that. We have shown that their obedience was substantial, and that they had adhered to that which constituted its essential feature—viz., the decision that Nestorius's persistent continuance in the teaching which Cyril had submitted to the Holy See, merited deposition. The "purport" of that decision was not, as our critic says, "broadly inconsistent with any laborious examination of the opinions of a man whom he [Celestine] had therein branded as a wolf," for Celestine himself in a beautiful passage in his letter to Cyril speaks of the possibility of any man's conversion and the readiness of the Divine welcome in the case of a penitent sinner: nor, as we have seen, was an episcopal examination of his tenets under the circumstances superfluous or useless, or inconsistent with belief in Papal infallibility, as understood amongst ourselves. Much less is

it true, as our critic goes on to observe, that the words in question ("necessarily compelled by the letter of Celestine") "simply indicate that they [the bishops] desired to utilise to the utmost the fact that the greatest See in the Church was on their side, as against the bishop of the Eastern capital, &c." Rome was at that moment not a word with which to conjure. The boy Emperor was with his mother in the marshes of Ravenna. It was a time when the great Emperor of the new Rome would not easily brook interference from the sinking capital of the West, unless there were some other secret of the authority of that Western See; and, as a matter of fact, again, and again, and again in the Acts of the Council, the See of Rome is spoken of, not as the Apostolic See of the West, but as simply "the Apostolic See." And the desire to have it understood that this See was "on their side," would imply more than the writer means by his explanation. Besides, they said, not that the See of Rome was "on their side," but that they were "compelled" by the letter of Celestine.

Here, however, our critic objects that the word they use does not imply an obedience to which they were bound of necessity. He suggests that the expression may be translated "naturally urged." The Greek, however, absolutely excludes such a meaning. The expression "naturally urged" by Celestine's letter would transfer the "natural" character of the action from the bishops to the Pope. It would signify that he naturally urged them on. The Greek is not patient of such a translation. The necessity is that of an obligation under which they, not he, found themselves. It is the strong form of a word which exactly corresponds to our "impelled." If one might, for the sake of English readers, give an equivalent from a somewhat commonplace form of speech, we might say that the prefix implies "down to the ground." The simple word (*ἐπείγω*) is most exactly translated by our word "impelled;" the compound, by the word "compelled." On other occasions, our critic is forward to produce the Latin. Here he drops it. The Latin is "coacti"—i.e., "compelled." The bishops, then, announced that they were under a law, which imposed on them the obligation of obedience; for Nestorius had been condemned by the letter of Celestine and had disobeyed the

canons in refusing the summons of the Synod. Constrained by these, they have deposed and excommunicated him in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We now approach a second scene in the Council, which is of paramount importance in settling the character of the obedience which these bishops professed to render to the Bishop of Rome. So far they had acted without the legates from Rome, but Cyril had "held" and "managed" (two words are used at different times) the place of Celestine. Their proceedings had not been formally confirmed by Rome. Their letter to the Emperor sets forth the grounds on which they had condemned Nestorius, and mentions, as the climax of their fidelity, that in excommunicating the archbishop, they "gave praise to the letter of Celestine, who by his convenient decision had provided for the security of the churches." Considering what they said in their actual sentence about their indebtedness to the letter of Celestine, this expression must be taken to mean that they claimed his sanction and attributed what they had done to his praiseworthy zeal in passing judgment on Nestorius. But they do not in this first letter ask to be dismissed, as they do in their second letter. Before they expected to be dismissed as having finished their work, another set of actions had to be concluded.

The legates came from Rome with instructions to keep aloof from discussions, but to act as judges of the bishops in Council. As such we shall see they acted by common consent. They also bore with them a formal letter to the Council from Celestine, which was to have been read in Synod in their first Session. They were received with all possible respect. But our critic thinks it shows "a curious lack of humour" to suppose that these Eastern bishops accepted what the legates, as we shall see, stated to be matter of faith. It is, therefore, important to grasp the position and see how close was the harmony between the legates and the Council, and how impossible it is to suppose that a plain dogmatic statement of the Church's faith, as to her own constitution, could be passed over, if the bishops held an absolutely contradictory conception of that constitution. And nothing less than this is necessary to save the position defended by our critic.

These legates, then, were not originally sent to supersede

Cyril, but to act as assistants, and, if necessary, to revise the proceedings of the Synod. They only assumed the presidency when Cyril, in the 4th Act, pleaded his own and Memnon's cause, which shows that Cyril, in the rest of the Sessions, was the properly accredited representative of the Apostolic See.

A fresh session was now held, and the proceedings were conducted on a different principle. The Papal letter was read first, with great solemnity, first in Latin, as was the custom in the case of the Pope sending a dogmatic letter to a Council, and then in a Greek translation. This letter of Celestine's has been, unfortunately, completely misunderstood by our critic, as it was by Dr. Pusey in his *Eirenicon*, through wresting it from its context. The burden of the letter is that the bishops at Ephesus have a share in the Apostolical succession, and must do their part, as the Pope had done his, in the condemnation of Nestorius. The Pope uses the first person plural throughout, sometimes meaning himself only, but sometimes obviously speaking only of those at Ephesus, with whom, however, he unites himself by reason of their common duty as sharers in the apostolical dignity of the episcopate. He urges them, as we have said, to do their part. "The blessed Apostle Paul admonishes all who are now stationed in the place where he ordered Timothy to remain"—*i.e.*, at Ephesus. . . . Let us therefore now do and aim at that which Timothy undertook as incumbent on him, 'lest any man think otherwise' (in reference to 1 Tim. i. 3, 4)." He, of course, means "do *you* now do and aim"; for he was not himself at Ephesus but at Rome. He is speaking as occupant of the See of S. Peter and S. Paul, and they occupy the place of S. Timothy, the Bishop of Ephesus. He presently explains what it is that they, whom he joins along with himself, have to do; for he ends with saying, "We have sent, out of our anxious care, our holy brothers and fellows in the ministry, of one mind with us, and most approved men, Arcadius and Projectus, Bishops, and Philip, our Presbyter, to be present at the Acts of the Synod, and to execute those things which have been long ago defined by us, to which we doubt not the consent of your Holiness will be accorded, when this is seen to have been decided on behalf of the security of all the churches." The Pope, in a word, like a second Paul, calls upon the bishops at Ephesus to act as Timothy, who was

to hold fast the outline of faith (*ὑποτυπώσεις*) delivered by S. Paul. So these bishops, seeing that they were called to a common labour through their common share in the Apostolical succession, are exhorted to show their oneness of mind with the Apostolic See of S. Peter and S. Paul, by carrying out the sentence of that See in conjunction with the legates, whom he has sent for that purpose. In fact, the teaching of Celestine is precisely that which we have outlined above as belonging to the office of the Episcopate—viz., to judge after and in conformity with the supreme Pontiff. Our critic misses the point of Celestine's letter through confusing the "we" used by him as though it implied an equal and similar share in the work, and perhaps, as he seems to defend Canon Bright, in translating "common" as though it were "equal," as Dr. Pusey did in this same letter.

The exclamations of the bishops on the reading of this letter confirm the estimate we have given of its purport. They burst out with the common explanation, "This is a just decision"—viz., that they should carry out the sentence of the Apostolic See, to secure which the legates were sent, and that they should act as representatives of Timothy in obedience to Paul. They call Celestine a new Paul, and Cyril, who had so far filled his place, a new Paul also. They had called Cyril their holy Father, doubtless as representing him whom in their solemn sentence they had called their holy Father, Celestine. They further give thanks to Celestine, "the guardian of the faith, of one mind with the Synod"—*i.e.*, in desiring that his sentence should be executed. They are all one, for, as their exclamation suggests, and as is afterwards stated, they had executed the sentence of Celestine.

Projectus, the legate, now bids them consider the authoritative direction or decision (*τύπος*) contained in the Pope's letters, and exhorts them—not as teaching the ignorant, but those who are competent in knowledge—that "they would order that those things which Celestine had long ago defined, and now deigned to bring to their memory, according to the rule of the common faith and the utility of the Catholic Church, should be brought to a complete conclusion."

Our critic here says, "Let us now see what follows. The successor of S. Basil acknowledges that Celestine's Apostolical

See had previously given a direction, and that they had followed and carried it out." It is strange that this writer should omit the important word which, in the original, is joined with "direction" and restricts it to a judicial decision. Firmus, for such was the name of the bishop, obviously speaking for the whole Synod, says that the Apostolical and Holy See of Celestine "gave a decision and direction, or judgment, on the matter (*ψῆφον καὶ τύπον*)."

Why does this writer make him mention only what he considers an unauthoritative direction, and not add the word, which he himself interprets as a judicial decision, when the Synod uses it of its own sentence? Firmus continues, "which we also having followed . . . have executed the order or judgment (*τύπος*) by condemning him with a canonical and apostolical judgment." Celestine's injunction to Cyril had been, "assuming the authority of our See, you shall execute a sentence of this sort, &c." Bishop Firmus says that the Synod did execute the judgment of the Pope. But he adds that they had executed it "with a canonical and apostolical judgment." Our critic appears to think that "canonical" is equivalent to "superior" or "final" in the sense of "superior." But every ecclesiastical court, higher or lower, has canons by which it should be guided, and its action is canonical so far as it obeys these. The Synod's judgment was canonical in the matter of Nestorius's citation, and in the orderly way in which it compared his writings with the Nicene Creed and the testimonies of the Fathers. It is called Apostolical doubtless in reference to Celestine's exhortation that they would exercise the grace of their Apostolic succession in executing the sentence passed on Nestorius by the Apostolic See.

The legate Arcadius then asked that the decrees of the Synod (*τί τεύπνεται*) be read. And Philip, the legate, then rose and thanked the Synod for their exclamations "at the reading of the Pope's letter," interpreting these exclamations as we have ourselves interpreted them above. "You have joined yourselves (he says) as holy members to your holy head by your holy exclamations. For your blessedness is not ignorant that the blessed Apostle Peter is the head of the whole faith as also of the Apostles." It is to be noticed that Philip is not giving his own faith merely, but expressing that

of the whole Synod. He proceeds to ask that the transactions of the Synod should be read, "so that in accordance with the judgment of our blessed Father, and of this present holy Synod, we may likewise confirm them (*i.e.*, the transactions) with our own deposition."*

Philip had thus interpreted the Synod's exclamations on the solemn reading of the Papal letter as joining themselves to "their holy head," and Theodotus, of Ancyra, now rises and says that with regard to the Pope's letters, their auspicious arrival, as well as that of the legates themselves, constituted a Divine sanction to the justice of the Synod's decision, and expresses his assurance that full information as to what had been done in the Synod would convince the legates of the justice of its decision, and of its "conformity with that faith which Celestine proclaims with loud voice."

The position, therefore, is unmistakable, namely, that the Synod profess to have followed Celestine's judgment, as Firmus declared, and that they willingly submit their decisions to the inspection of the legates, assured that they will be found in conformity with the faith as taught by Celestine.

The scene, however, on the following day forms the climax as regards the Council's witness to the spiritual supremacy of the See of Peter. On that occasion, Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, who at the first Session, in the absence of the legates, had proposed that the reading of the Imperial decree should take precedence of everything else, now, by way of self-correction,† speaks of the Papal letter having been read yesterday, and of the request made by the legates that the Minutes of the Session should be read, which he says, in pursuance of canonical order (*ἀκολουθῶς*), the Synod had ordered to be done. The legates, it seems, had taken the minutes home with them to read at their leisure. He now asks the legates if they have read them. The legate Philip then said

* The Greek here is literally "their" deposition, and this would mean "in conformity with their deposition," but Philip could hardly, in addressing the Synod, speak of its members, whom he was addressing, in the third person. It is, therefore, probable, that for *αὐτῶν* we should read *ἐαυτῶν*. This would exactly express what they did. Otherwise the sentence would make no sense. Besides, the heading is conclusive that it is the legates' deposition which was to confirm the transactions of the Synod.

† Cf. Christianus Lupus, Appendix to "Scholia ad Ephesinum Concilium," and Hefele, "Councils" (Eng. tr.), vol. iii. p. 63.

that they had, and that everything had been done in accordance with canonical discipline. And he now requests that the Acts should be read through in open Synod.

So that following the order of our most holy Father Celestine, who has entrusted us with the care of this business (*lit.* this care), and moreover also (in accordance with) the order of your Holiness, we may be able to confirm what has been adjudged.

It must be remembered that the bishops considered themselves to be transacting the business of the second Œcumenical Council ever held in the Church, the Council of 381 not having yet taken rank as an Œcumenical Council. Precedents, therefore, there were none, the Acts of the Nicene Council having either never been taken down, or having perished. The Pope had, however, given strict injunctions to the legates not to mix themselves up with discussions as to the faith, but to see that things were done in canonical order. They were, in fact, to superintend the mode of procedure. Hence the exactness with which they now proceeded. It must also be clear, from all that has gone before, that Philip, in speaking of confirming the Synod's transactions, is speaking of the confirmation of a superior. He had been commissioned to see that the Synodical decision was in complete accord with the Papal judgment. This was the gist of the whole Session. Arcadius, the episcopal legate, accordingly followed up Philip's remarks by asking that they might by a public reading of the Acts in accordance with the order of the Synod (commanding them thus to be read) learn what had been decided by them. The Bishop of Ephesus consented that the Acts should be read through in open Synod. The formality of this procedure is only to be explained by the supposition that the Acts were being formally submitted to the legates for their approval and confirmation. They were read. And now the famous speech of Philip the legate was made, in which he lays down the foundation of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and declares its exercise in the case of Nestorius to be in accordance with the canons of the Church. The speech divides itself thus:

1. It is doubtful to none, but rather has been known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince and head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our

Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, the keys of the Kingdom, and the power of loosing and binding sins was given to him ; who up to this time and always both lives and exercises judgment in his successors ; wherefore, his successor in due order and the occupier of his place, our most holy and blessed father Celestine, the bishop, has sent us to this holy Synod as the occupiers of his place.

Such was the fountain of the jurisdiction now exercised in regard to Nestorius, and in regard to the action of the Synod here present — a fountain of jurisdiction recognised, according to this statement, by every bishop throughout the world—"doubtful to none"—and in all ages.

2. The Synod [says Philip] has been duly called by him who is the chief authority in the civil order—viz., the Emperor. (That it had the consent of the successor of Peter was obvious, or his legates would not be there.)

3. The Synod has duly observed canonical discipline in summoning Nestorius three times.

4. Nestorius, although cited in accordance with the discipline of the Canons (a point which Philip repeats), refused to come.

5. He has exceeded the time allowed by "the Apostolic See," and even much beyond.

Therefore, the sentence pronounced against him stands firm, according to the decision (*τύπον*) of all the churches—for East and West are both here—the East by those actually present, and the West by representation. Therefore, in obedience to the rules (*τυποῖς*) laid down by the fathers, this present holy Synod has pronounced definitive sentence against the blasphemous and rash person wherefore let Nestorius know that he is separate from the communion of the priesthood of the Catholic Church.

This was the final and definitive sentence of the Œcumenical Council, *quâ* Œcumenical. Let it be carefully borne in mind that whilst the sentence of the supreme Pontiff pronounced in the Synod at Rome was irreversible, yet its execution was handed over to Cyril, at first in his mere capacity as delegate of the Holy See, and then as President of the Council, which was summoned by the Emperor for one purpose, and was accepted by Celestine for another, namely, for the conciliar execution and promulgation of his judgment pronounced in August of the preceding year. Philip's speech is the culminating point. It is the formal ratification of the way in which the judgment had been conducted. It gives the whole *rationale* of

the exercise of Church discipline, the canonical order on which such a sentence was properly based. First, the fountain of jurisdiction under Christ—viz., the See of Peter; next, an assembly meeting not in contravention of, but in deference to the chief authority in the civil order, a happy accident; then, with due observance of canonical discipline in the execution of the sentence, the offender being properly cited; and hence the confirmation of the Synod's action by the representatives of the supreme Pontiff. This was the deposition (*κατάθesis*), as it is called in conciliar language, expressed in the "interlocution" (*διαλαλία*), or speech in Synod, which in the case of ecclesiastical judges often preceded their formal signature. No more solemn pronouncement could be conceived than this made by Philip. It was not on a side issue, but contained the very marrow of the meaning of their signature. No more serious dogmatic utterance could be made than this clear, precise, emphatic description of the Church's divine constitution, given by Philip as the *rationale* of the action of the Episcopate in this Œcumenical Council. For it was in this Session that the Council was properly and fully Œcumenical (*utpote jam verè Œcumenica*, Chr. Lupus). For in this Session there was the specially commissioned delegate of the Apostolic See, in the person of Philip; there were the legates, Arcadius and Projectus, who represented the Apostolic See, and in a special manner also the whole West; there was the East, though shorn of some of the Antiochene Patriarchate, yet fairly represented, since Antioch had been cited, but had absented itself of set purpose.

Arcadius followed Philip in the same strain, closing his speech with saying that, "following the decisions of the most holy father of the Apostolic See, Celestine, who has formally assigned us to this matter, and sent us as his executors, and following the decrees of the Holy Synod (we say) let Nestorius know, &c."

Projectus follows suit, laying stress on the forbearance of the Holy See, and ending with saying:

Wherefore I also define, with the authority of a legatine commission from the holy Apostolic See, being, with my brethren, an executor of the sentence, that Nestorius is extruded from the episcopal office and the communion of all orthodox priests (bishops).

Nothing can be plainer than the position of things at this juncture. The Council has taken on the character of œcumenicity in all the fulness of that term. The synodical action of the first Session is taken up into the still more solemn and formal promulgation of the sentence against the Archbishop of Constantinople, and that action is passed as canonical because it was in conformity with the decision of the Apostolic See, and in the execution had paid due regard to the canons that should rule such action.

Now what is the answer of our critic to this plain uncontradicted statement of the ground of the Church's jurisdiction made in open Synod? Simply this: That it argues a "curious lack of humour" to suppose that "Easterns believed whatever they heard and did not contradict." But where is the lack of humour in supposing that such vital teaching as this, on which the whole business of the Session hinged, was accepted as natural unless some sort of protest was raised?

But Cyril at once answered for the Synod. He said that "the depositions" made by the legates were now plain to the Synod:

For they have made their "depositions" (or borne their witness), filling the place of the Apostolic See (that is, specially Philip) and of all the holy Synod in the West, so that they have executed the things which were already defined by the most holy and God-beloved Bishop Celestine, and they have given their assent to the decision of the holy Synod against Nestorius. Wherefore let the transactions of yesterday and to-day be added to the previous Acts, and let the records be brought to their Holiness, that with their own signature, according to custom, they may declare their canonical agreement with all of us.

How could Cyril more plainly show that he and the rest of the Synod accepted the position as defined by the legates? Their signature was to be given as executors of a Papal Commission to carry out the Papal judgment. It was asserted by the Papal legate, not as anything new, but as the old and original faith, *and as the belief of every bishop there present* (*nulli dubium*), that the power by which Nestorius was deposed and excommunicated was that which our Lord had committed to Peter, and which Peter had left to the See of Rome. The assertion was not received in silence, but was cordially welcomed; for it was not a by-remark, but stood in the

forefront as the explanation and justification of the Synod's action, and the legates' speeches were to be laid up in the archives, and their signature on the strength of these speeches was requested to conclude the business.

Our critic answers, by way of a demurrer to Philip's dogmatic teaching, "But what says Cyril himself? He takes care (a) to describe the legates as representing not only 'the Apostolical See,' but 'all the holy Synod of the bishops of the West,' and (b) to distinguish *their* action as Celestine's real 'agents' from the sentence already pronounced by the Synod."

But Philip does the same! It is one great point in his speech that the Papal sentence has gathered up into itself the whole West, and that, as agents of Celestine, the legate's action is distinguished from that of the Synod—distinct as confirming it as Celestine's special representative. The point is that Cyril welcomes their depositions, containing all this dogmatic teaching, in the most cordial terms, and, moreover (a point of tremendous significance), calls the See of Rome "the Apostolic See" *simply*, when Philip has just expounded, *as the belief of all bishops*, the sense in which it is apostolic—viz., as the See of Peter, the foundation of the Catholic Church. As such Philip defines it: as such Cyril accepts it—not as the Apostolical See *of the West*, but the Apostolic See. No man who did not accept Philip's dogmatic teaching as the common teaching of the Church could have involved himself in an acceptance of that teaching by the immediate use of the phrase "Apostolic See," unless he were either grossly dissembling or profoundly stupid. Cyril was neither, and what Cyril believed it is obvious the whole Synod also believed. They are in the closest harmony with the legates, and there is no evidence of the slightest jar to their faith in the dogmatic utterances to which they had listened. In what followed there is no sign of the slightest disagreement. Indeed, it is exceedingly probable that an expression almost immediately used by the Synod conveys their actual approval of Philip's speech. We wish here to be on our guard against resting the case on what follows. We can accept the view of what follows, as given by our critic, without the evidence of the Synod's unanimity with the legates being in any way shaken.

The Council used words which may be translated in more than one way. The legate Arcadius, after Cyril's speech, said: "In accordance with the things done in this holy Synod, we necessarily confirm our own teaching with our signatures." The Latin here translates "confirm their teaching with our own signatures." This would require a different reading in the Greek, and would also require us to suppose that Arcadius in addressing the Synod itself spoke of the bishops in the third person. The Latin translation of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus is not generally considered of any special value. Where the Latin is the original, as in Celestine's letter, it is different. But our critic follows the Latin in one point and not in another. He makes Arcadius say that they were "bound to affirm its teaching, according to what had been done in it." The reader will notice how this writer turns "confirm" into "affirm," and through not giving the whole sentence, the difficulty of speaking to the Synod about itself in the third person is not perceived.

But an exactly parallel sentence occurs later on in the account which the Schismatical Synod sent of itself to the Emperor, and which the bishop says "we are compelled (or bound) to confirm our own profession by our signatures." Our critic, however, is still more wide of the mark, when he goes on to translate the Synod's remark, which follows, thus: "Since they (*i.e.*, the legates) have spoken *ἀκολούθως*, it follows that they should make good their own promise and affirm what has been done by their signatures." How could they "affirm" *what has been done*? The Greek is "confirm"; but this would not suit the writer's views of the office of Papal legates. And he thinks that the word *ἀκολούθως* means that the legates, in the Synod's judgment, had spoken "in agreement" with its decisions. But *ἀκολούθως* is a technical term in ecclesiastical Greek for "canonically" or "in due order." So that, if this be its meaning here, the Synod, alluding especially to Philip's speech, whom they call "the legate of the Apostolic See," sets its seal to the dogmatic teaching of that speech. We repeat, however, that even if we were to adopt our critic's translation, which seems to us in the highest degree improbable, still the Synod is clearly in perfect accord with the Papal legates, and no attempt to pass off the serious argument to be

derived from Philip's teaching under such circumstances of solemnity by saying that it shows "a curious lack of humour" to suppose that Easterns believed whatever they did not contradict, will meet the real historical evidence for the most "modern" Papal claims, as our friends are wont to call them, from the history of the great Œcumenical Council of 431, which decided that the refusal to call Mary the Mother of God was worthy of the anathema of the Church.

NOTE.—*ἀκολουθία*. This word has quite a technical meaning in ecclesiastical Greek, especially in the Acts of the Councils. The Ballerini define it as meaning the order or method to be observed by those who wish to act according to the Canon—*ordinem, methodum ac styllum, uti vocant, canonicum ab iis omnino sequendum qui rite ex ecclesiasticarum regularum canonumque præscripto agere velint*. The Ephesine Synod, in its letter to the Emperors about John of Antioch and his party, says that they acted *ἐξω πᾶσης ἀκολουθίας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ κανόνων ἐκτὸς* (Mansi, IV. 1325.) The same phrase occurs on p. 1328. At Chalcedon, the Fathers urge Dioscorus to act *ἀκολούθως*, and again Cecropius defends the Council's action as being *ἀκολούθως καὶ κανονικῶς*, and Bishop Pergamus says that the Synod summoned Dioscorus *ἀκολούθως καὶ κανονικῶς*. In the second Act of Chalcedon, the words *ἀκολουθία* and *ἀκόλουθον* occur frequently with the same meaning of that which is in canonical order. It is most probable that this is the meaning of the word as used by the Council of Ephesus when they speak of the legates having spoken *ἀκολούθως*, *i.e.*, agreeably to the Canons—in due order. It expresses their approval of what the legates said, not (as our critic) merely agreement with the decision of the Synod. Even in this case, it had been made quite clear that the legates agreed to the decision of the Synod, as a superior might be said to agree to what had been done under orders. But it is far more probable that being used absolutely, the word has its usual technical meaning of "agreeably to the canons."

LUKE RIVINGTON.

Science Notices.

Argon.—There could be no more striking illustration of the value of quantitative experiment than the recent discovery of argon by Lord Rayleigh and Professor Ramsay. At the last meeting of the British Association at Oxford, the scientific world was startled by the announcement that a new constituent of the atmosphere had been discovered. That it should have aroused some scepticism was perhaps not unnatural, considering that the details of the investigation were not then unfolded.

But any sceptics who were present at the special meeting of the Royal Society, in the theatre of the University of London on January 31st last, must have left that building in an altered frame of mind, confronted as they had been with the solid experimental evidence with which the investigators took care to support their claim to be the revealers of a new constituent of the air.

Lord Rayleigh has been engaged for some time past in the exceptionally difficult task of determining the densities of some of the more permanent gases. He found that the nitrogen produced from chemical compounds was about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. lighter than that obtained from the atmosphere, and this measurement led him to suspect that another constituent might be found in atmospheric nitrogen. This he succeeded in separating by sparking according to the Cavendish method. Professor Ramsay, who had been discussing the question with Lord Rayleigh, accomplished the separation by a chemical method. The new gas has been called argon (*ἄργον*, inert) because of its apparent inability to enter into any chemical combination. Its density is 19.7; the ratio of its specific heats is 1.66. It has been prepared from air by three processes—atmolysis, red-hot magnesium, and sparking. It is very soluble in water, and it has been found that the nitrogen extracted from rain-water has twice the amount of argon as that which exists in the air. All attempts to induce argon to combine with other substances have so far been abortive. For instance, it does not combine with oxygen in presence of alkali, under the influence of the electric discharge, nor with hydrogen in presence of acid or alkali when sparked, nor with phosphorus at a red heat, nor with sulphur at bright redness. It is possible to distil tellurium, sodium, and potassium in a current of

the gas, while the metallic lustre of the two latter remain unchanged. It is unabsorbed when passed over fused red-hot caustic soda; it remains unaffected when passed over fused and bright red-hot potassium nitrate; it does not combine with red-hot sodium peroxide, nor is there any action with persulphides of sodium or calcium; it is not absorbed by platinum black or platinum sponge, and with wet oxidising and chlorinating agents there is no action.

Mr. Crookes has examined and photographed the spectrum of argon. He finds that it has two distinct spectra marked by red and blue lines respectively. In the spectrum of the blue glow there are 119 lines, and in that of the red glow 80, making 199 in all, of which 26 are common to both spectra. Professor K. Olszewski, of the University of Cracow, had supplied information and figures as to the behaviour of argon at low temperatures. The critical temperature is 121° Centigrade, the critical pressure 50.6 atmospheres. The liquid boils under a pressure of 740.5 mm. at -186.9° , having at the boiling-point a density of about 1.5. The melting-point is about -189.6° , and it has been frozen into a solid resembling ice.

The fact that argon shows two spectra suggests that it may not be a simple substance, but a mixture of two. On the other hand, Professor Olszewski's researches with the gas at low temperatures are in favour of its being an element. It is suggested that argon shall be represented by the symbol A.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this memorable paper, Professor Roberts Austen threw out a suggestion which, if it should prove true, will relieve argon from the monotony of inertness at present attached to its character. He remarked that in the Bessemer process about ten tons of iron were put into the convertor. During the conversion no less than 100,000 cubic feet of air passed through the fluid iron. These 1000 cubic feet of argon had to be accounted for. Out of the Bessemer blown metal which had not been treated with ferro-manganese, he had pumped out forty times its volume of gas, of which $\frac{1}{20}$ was nitrogen. In that nitrogen he had failed to find any argon that could not have come from the water which was used in the manipulations. It was a question whether or no the argon found its way into the iron, and there stayed, being responsible for certain peculiarities of Bessemer steel.

Carriage-way Pavements.—The character of its street paving has ever been a definition of a nation's advance in civilisation. The great cities of the East have left us their testimonies, while a Roman pavement is synonymous for strength and use. And in more modern

times we find the culture of Paris and Italian cities emphasising in their carriage-ways their advance to the goal of high civilisation; while Chicago with its jolts and discomforts of street travelling, taught those who visited its Exhibition how young a city it was, and how crude as yet the civilisation of the United States.

The Society of Arts, always to the fore in world-wide investigation of crafts, mechanics and industries, has lately discussed roadways, and appointed in 1874 a private commission for their examination. Further back in history, we find England had her Sanitary Inquiry, 1842, her Health of Towns Commission in 1844, her Metropolitan Sanitary Commission, 1848, and her General Board of Health, 1850—all dealing more or less with road-making; while in 1894 the Sanitary Institute considered roadways in Mr. L. H. Isaac's paper, entirely from the sanitary standpoint; therein he so disparages the favourite wood-pavement, that one can only wonder Dr. Richardson in his "Hygeia" should have given his city a "wood paving set in asphalte": it seems more of a Utopian than a practical hygienic proposal.

Carriage-way pavements may be considered from various points of view—economy, durability, noiselessness, facility of repair, of travelling, cleansing, safety to horses, facility for tramways, public hygiene, and so forth. The nine heads given perhaps cover the principal aims and ends of practical street-paving. Modern pavements may be divided into two classes, containing each three sorts. The two classes are: first, those pavements which are laid at right angles to the kerbs; and, secondly, those which are without joints—longitudinal or transverse. Gritstone and granite setts and wood blocks fall within the first class, and asphalte, macadam, and gravel within the second. Flint and ballast roads may be excluded, as unfit for the traffic of large cities.

The foundation is the most important part of a pavement. Some one has said, "the foundation is the pavement"; and a well-laid bed of suitable concrete is the *necessarium* of a granite, wood, or asphalte pavement. From the sanitary standpoint such a road foundation is imperative, to prevent the rising of exhalations from the ground; in large cities with gas mains there is a well-known "pest stratum" just beneath the surface of the road. Its exhalations must not in a hygienic pavement have escape at the surface; neither must they escape sideways into the houses, and for this reason—with a sealed road surface, adjoining houses should have in self-protection wide areas; and undoubtedly gas mains should be laid in specially constructed subways. Next in importance to the foundation is the cross section of a carriage-way pavement; it must

be such as secures good draining both longitudinally and transversely; the gradient of the road and the nature of the material being laid, influence this contour, which will vary from 1 in 30 to about 1 in 40. Returning to the foundation, the first desideratum of a good road, we find that its necessity banishes macadam and gravel from our list of possible road materials. They cannot be laid as pavement on a concrete foundation, and they are unsanitary and uneconomical in large cities. They absorb moisture, they give off exhalations, they are muddy in bad weather, they cannot be cleansed by water, the abrasion of the surfaces creates in dry weather clouds of dust impregnated with organic matter, and under the wear and tear of heavy traffic a macadamised road is costly. In unfrequented suburbs, where one generally finds macadamised or gravel roads, they are comparatively cheap, and they are quiet street material.

After the foundation and the cross-section of the pavement, the jointing is the next item of importance in the cases of pavements in class one—those which are laid at right angles to the kerb, namely, gritstone, granite, and wood. The width of joints, the lower grouting, the top grouting to secure impermeability, and so forth, are radical questions for the durability, noiselessness, and hygiene of the carriageway; so also the size and form of the gritstone and granite setts. The joints in all three pavements are now made very thin, and in the case of wood blocks these are pressed so closely together as almost to become a solid body. Gritstone, though much used in the North, may be discarded as unsuitable for a city pavement, on account mainly of its softness; it seems to be successfully used in Liverpool, but it is difficult to lay tramway rails in conjunction with it. Granite, asphalte, and wood remain the three possible materials for street paving.

Granite, for durability, economy, and facility for tramways, stands first. It is suitable for steep gradients, where asphalte would be impossible. But it is difficult to keep clean, and its noise is its main objection.

As noise wears and tears the nerves, a pavement in our cities that reduces the capability of the bread-winner cannot be looked upon as truly economical or hygienic.

Mr. Isaacs gave some statistics in his address to the Society of Arts, as to the average annual cost per yard for granite, wood, and asphalte. The costs are total, including foundation, laying and repairs. Granite pitching comes out at 9½*d.* per superficial yard per annum, in Gracechurch Street, and 10*d.* in Holborn, over a period of twenty-three years; at the end of that time the granite

blocks are still serviceable for smaller and less frequented streets. Wood for seventeen years comes out at about 1s. 4½d. per yard per annum, and asphalte at 1s. 9d. per yard per annum, for the same number of years.

One may say that for crowded thoroughfares, where the gradients allow, the battle rages between asphalte and wood. The use of wood was almost universal in Australia, but a good deal of it has been taken up on account of its unsanitariness, and this in a country where wood is cheap and ready to hand, and would be used if possible. The supporters of wood pavement say, in Australia it must have been badly laid; and they say the same of its rejection in Berlin, where the use of asphalte for main thoroughfares is extending by leaps and bounds. The City of London clings to asphalte; and for public hygiene asphalte is first of the three city pavements under consideration. It is absolutely impermeable to damp, is smooth, comparatively noiseless, easily cleansed, easily repaired. On the other hand, it is slippery for horses, but this can be modified to a very great extent by keeping the asphalte thoroughly clean, as is done in Berlin. It is difficult to use in connection with tramways, and some say it becomes wavy in hot weather, but in this particular the laying and quality of the asphalte makes a difference; the same holds good as to its wear under heavy traffic. Asphalte is a bituminous limestone, and the proportion of bitumen to lime is important for the quality of the road.

Wood, the favourite pavement of the West End, on account of its smoothness and noiselessness, is of the three pavements under consideration the most unsanitary; it is absorbent of moisture, the fibre of the wood impregnated with the filth of the streets becomes the home of fungi and infusoria, and how the atmosphere is deteriorated is evidenced to us by our sense of smell, a safe natural guide. Monsieur Foussagrives, the Professor of Hygiene in Paris, tells us, "a city with a damp climate, paved entirely with wood, would become a city of marsh fevers." Much wood has been used in the United States of America, and miasma and malaria are there very frequent; we do not trace the connection—we only state the two facts; wood pavement in New York is now being taken up, in favour of asphalte, and, in some cases, granite, though the return to this latter, with its noise and want of smoothness, seems an incomprehensibly retrograde step. The Society of Arts Commission stated that no impregnation of the wood with mineral matter, though it diminished the evil, could prevent the fibres being separated, and the consequent absorption of putrescent matter by the wood. If harder wood than creosoted deal, such as Karri and Jarrah, are

suggested as less permeable, we are confronted by their cost and then the noise their very density entails. The Kensington Vestry, in November 1893, were petitioned by the inhabitants of Brompton Road to take up some trial sections of Karri wood which had been laid there, on the ground of their slipperiness and noise, and it was agreed they should be replaced by creosoted deal.

There seems no doubt that with the growing extension of wood pavements we shall purchase our ease at an increased mortality. We are recklessly converting London into an Augean stable without a Hercules in view to cleanse it. For here is one of the evils of the day confronting us—Why are our streets dirtier than those of other cities? It is not merely London damp and fog that is to blame. We cannot get at our water. It costs too much here to wash the streets as they are washed in Berlin. The wood pavement might be less unwholesome than it is, and the asphalte might be less slippery; but the cost of water for wholesale street cleansing purposes is prohibitive. So also might be the cost of keeping the wood clean when we had the water; the cleansing of asphalte is a more simple matter, necessitating less labour than either wood or granite.

Mr. Isaacs suggests wood may be allowed for open spaces, such as the Embankment and the roads round Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, but in narrow streets which are not too steep, and in streets shut in by high buildings, asphalte should be laid.

Perhaps the desired noiselessness will be attained in the future, on a durable, elastic and impermeable road, by improvements in wheels and in the shoeing of horses, in which latter it is obvious there is ample room for improvement.

Acetylene.—There can be no doubt that the discovery of a commercially practical method of producing the gas known by the name of acetylene, places in the market a new and powerful illuminant, as well as a convenient means of adding to the light-giving powers of ordinary coal gas.

The researches of Professor Vivian Lewis have shown that the illuminating properties of all flames are due to the production of acetylene in the inner non-luminous zone of the flame, for it is the acetylene which by its rapid decomposition at 1200° Centigrade gives the flame the carbon particles which become heated to incandescence. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the hydrocarbon which is the source of luminosity in other flames, should be found capable of itself yielding an intensely brilliant light, estimated to be no less than 240 candles per 5 cubic feet consumed.

As early as 1836 it was known that acetylene could be produced from calcic carbide by the action of water, but the process of obtaining the calcic carbide by fusing an alloy of zinc and calcium with carbon proved too expensive to be of any commercial value. To Mr. T. L. Willson belongs the credit of finding the secret of manufacturing this source of acetylene by a process which bids fair to be thoroughly feasible.

The discovery, however, was not the object of his search, but one of those happy accidents which not unfrequently occur to those engaged in the quest of knowledge. Mr. Willson was endeavouring to form an alloy of calcium from some of its compounds by means of an electric furnace, when he noticed that a mixture of lime and pulverised anthracite under the temperature of the arc fused into a heavy semi-metallic mass, which was not the substance he sought to find. When thrown into water there was a violent effervescence and evolution of an odorous gas, which investigation proved to be acetylene.

Calcic carbide is a dark grey substance, having a specific gravity of 2.262. It contains 40 parts by weight of calcium, and 24 parts of carbon. On the addition of water to it there is a double decomposition, the oxygen of the water combining with the calcium of the calcic carbide to form lime, while the hydrogen unites with the carbon to form acetylene. A pound of calcic carbide will yield on decomposition 5.3 cubic feet of the acetylene. For the purposes of commerce the carbide will be cast direct from the furnace into rods or cylindrical cartridges. These when 12 inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter will weigh one pound, and will give 5 cubic feet of gas. The gas so prepared is found to contain 98 per cent. of acetylene and 2 per cent. of air, while there are traces of sulphuretted hydrogen owing to the sulphate of lime being present in the chalk, and pyrites in the coal used in the process. It is estimated that the cost of the carbide is about £4 a ton. A ton yields about 11,000 cubic feet of acetylene, which brings out the cost of the gas at 6s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per 1000 cubic feet.

Acetylene is a clear, colourless gas having a penetrating and pungent smell, resembling that of garlic. It is poisonous, and this fact would seem to be the principal objection to its use, as gas escapes are sure to occur even with the best devised appliances. It is urged, on the other hand, that the pungent odour of the gas would immediately betray the leakage, and thus be a protection.

Acetylene burns with a luminous and intensely smoky flame. This latter characteristic would seem to be anything but a recommendation for its use. When, however, it is diluted by mixture in

proper proportions, either with water gas, or air, its flame becomes smokeless and brilliant. In America, which is the birthplace of the new process of obtaining the calcic carbide, the acetylene is mixed with air and then burnt at small slit burners. There is, however, a danger in thus using the gas as its dilution with air in certain proportions produces a highly explosive mixture, and the dangerous proportion might easily be reached by accident. Professor Vivian Lewis maintains that a better way of using the gas is to liquefy it when enormous volumes of the gas can be compressed into the liquid state in small steel cylinders. In this condition, by means of suitable reducing valves and burners of the right construction, it can be burnt. In this way it might be with great advantage used for floating buoys as the compressed store would last for a long time; while in the case of country houses that have no gas supply, a large cylinder of the liquid gas placed in an outhouse would supply a house with light for a long period.

It has been suggested that a useful portable lamp for drawing-room and dining-room could be devised combining in one the generating and burning apparatus. The body of the lamp would consist of a strong steel cylinder 4 inches in diameter and 16 inches in length. It would contain a stick of the calcic carbide coated with a slowly soluble glaze. If water were put into the cylinder, as the glaze dissolves off the carbide, the acetylene would be generated. The head of the lamp would contain a double reducing pressure valve, to diminish the pressure in the cylinder to that required for burning the gas. Such an apparatus may perhaps replace oil gas for lighting railway carriages. Owing to the intensity of the light such lamps should be invaluable for lantern signalling on railways, and perhaps they may be applied to military and naval signalling, and lighthouses.

As a comparatively small volume of gas consumed yields a brilliant light, the noxious products of combustion are not anything like those yielded by ordinary coal gas. According to Professor Vivian Lewis's figures, 19·2 cubic feet of coal gas burnt in a flat flame burner, No. 6, gives a light of 48 candles, and produces 10·1 feet of carbonic acid gas, representing the amount exhaled by 16·8 adults; 1·0 cubic foot of acetylene is only needed to produce an equal candle power, and this only produces 2·0 cubic feet of carbonic acid, representing 3·6 adults.

Another advantage claimed is the comparatively low temperature of the flame. To quote Professor Vivian Lewis's remarks in a recent lecture on the subject:

The flame of acetylene in spite of its high illuminating value is a dis-

tinctly cool flame, and in experiments which I have made by means of the Le Chatelier thermo-couple the highest temperature in any part of the flame is a trace under 1000° Centigrade, whilst with coal gas burning in the same way in a flat-flame burner, the temperature rises as high as 1360° C. If the heat of the flames be contrasted for equal illumination, it will be seen that the acetylene flame has so small a heating effect, considering its area, that it would not be much greater than the ordinary electric incandescent lamp.

It seems very probable that acetylene will be used by gas companies to enrich the ordinary supply, as it seems that the process would be more economical than the methods in vogue. The generating plant at any rate would cost much less than the bulky apparatus now used. For example, the Young enrichment plant to work a ton of oil a day and produce 22,000 cubic feet costs about £1500, and occupies much space. To make the same quantity of acetylene two tons of material are needed, but the process could be carried out in one small egg-ended boiler.

But it is not only for an illuminant and enricher that acetylene is likely to be used. In Professor Vivian Lewis's words: "As a stepping-stone to the synthesis of other bodies, its value will be incalculable." From this hydrocarbon the whole of the other hydrocarbons which are used for illuminants can be built up. If it is passed through a tube heated to just visible redness, it is converted into benzol, and at a higher temperature into naphthalene. By the action of nascent hydrogen on acetylene, ethylene and ethane are produced. From benzol aniline is easily derived. The ethylene produced from acetylene can be converted into ethyl alcohol by consecutively treating it with sulphuric acid and water. From the alcohol other organic substances can be produced. It seems, indeed, that the construction of substances by synthesis will play an important rôle in the chemistry of the future.

Phosphorescence and Photographic Action at Low Temperatures.—Amongst Professor Dewar's most striking experiments with the low temperature of 200° Centigrade, produced by means of his now famous liquid air, are certainly those concerned with phosphorescence and photographic actions. This extremely low temperature is found to promote in many bodies the power of phosphorescing, while it destroys the photographic susceptibility of the photographic plate. He treated the subject in a most exhaustive manner at a recent Friday evening discourse at the Royal Institution, when many substances, amongst others egg-shells, which re-

mained dark after exposure to light in the ordinary temperature of the room, phosphoresced brilliantly after being dipped into the boiling though intensely cold liquid air. Amongst the phosphorescing substances shown was the photographic plate. To demonstrate the photographic inactivity under the low temperature, a piece of photographic paper was held a short distance from an arc lamp, and a portion of it brushed with liquid air. The part so treated was unspotted, while the remainder partook of the usual rich brown tint. Professor Dewar, in conjunction with Captain Abney, is now making quantitative experiments relative to the connection between temperature and photographic action.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The North-Western Neighbours of India.—The series of letters published in the *Times* between November 7th and January 8th last contain the latest and most reliable information in regard to a region which is no less geographically interesting than politically important. Written by that indefatigable traveller, the Hon. George Curzon, they give a vivid picture under both aspects of the little-known countries traversed during an adventurous tour. Starting from the snow-walled garden of Kashmir, he does full justice to the beauty and fertility of that Happy Valley, whose silk is now winning a place in the markets of Europe, whose grapes yield white and red wine of excellent quality, and from whose hops good beer is brewed at Muree, the hill station of the Punjab. The charms of the Kashmirian capital he declares, however, to have been exaggerated, and characterises Srinagar, the “City of the Sun,” as “essentially tumbledown, slatternly, ignoble, unregenerate,” whose picturesqueness is that of decrepitude, and whose romance, if any, that of decay. It is an amphibious city, for out of a population of 130,000, some 10,000 have their abode on the river. In addition to the native craft, the Thames house-boat has been introduced, forming the permanent residence of some of the foreign residents. Other English families find quarters in bungalows built on a plot of ground allotted for the purpose, while young men encamp in a still more picturesque situation under the shade of the stately plane-trees that give its name to the Chenar Bagh. The prosperity of the Kashmirian peasants has been much promoted by the re-assessment of the land revenue and rectification of many abuses, carried out by Mr. Lawrence, C.I.E., lent by the Government of India for the purpose.

The Gilgit Road.—Mr. Curzon’s route beyond Srinagar lay by that now famous line of trans-frontier communication, the Gilgit road, begun in 1890, and completed by Messrs. Spedding & Mitchell in the following year. The tract of 194 miles traversed by it from Bandipur, on the Wular Lake, to Gilgit, a military station on a tributary of the Indus, is a mountain labyrinth including many passes, of which the highest is 13,450 ft. above the sea. The old

bridle-path was so dangerous as to cause the yearly loss of hecatombs of men and animals, swept off the narrow foothold afforded by ledges skirting precipices and ravines. These difficulties rendered both the construction and maintenance of the new road exceptionally costly, the initial outlay of the Kashmir State on it having amounted, it is said, to 10 or 11 lakhs of rupees. The annual repairs needed to, reconstruct bridges swept away, or renew miles of the roadway obliterated by landslips, would be a heavy drain on the Kashmirian Government were it not for the subsidy granted by that of India towards the cost of transport for the Indian and Kashmirian garrison of Gilgit. That this is no inconsiderable item is proved by the figures supplied to Mr. Curzon by Captain Feilding, the transport officer on the spot. As communication is suspended during the seven or eight months that the passes are blocked by snow, the entire food for 3000 men has to be conveyed during the remainder of the year. In this service 15,000 animals, 7500 ponies, 250 mules, as many donkeys, and 800 camels are employed. Hence no private travelling is allowed on the Gilgit road except by special permission of the Indian Government. Mr. Curzon's party, including 4 Europeans, 35 natives, and 26 animals, was of course provided with the requisite authorisation. Their sleeping accommodation consisted of tents alternating with the empty bungalows erected along the road for the shelter of travellers. The track zigzags up steep mountain-sides, or forms a cornice on ledges 2000 ft. above the stream furrowing the gorge below. The scenery traversed is generally more desolate than beautiful, the bare mountains of the foreground shutting out the giants of the range, which sometimes close the vista of a lateral ravine with snows rising over 20,000 ft. skyward. The high passes were grim gates of death, redolent with memories of disaster, where men had perished in hundreds overwhelmed by snowdrifts or land slides, and lay buried where they fell. The oasis of Astor, garrisoned by 800 Sikhs, forms a break in the sterile monotony of the road, and again at Bunji, the ford of the Indus, a small group of British officers is stationed. Gilgit itself, a fort situated in a cultivated oasis of two square miles in the valley of the river of the same name, is occupied by 600 men of the Kashmir Imperial Service troops under a Kashmirian General of Brigade, but with English officers attached to the station.

The Kanjut Valley and its Inhabitants.—The importance of this mountain postern-gate of India was first impressed upon the British rulers by the arrival there in 1888, by way of the Hindú

Khush, of Captain Grombchevsky, "that stormy petrel of Russian frontier advance," as our author styles him. The negotiations entered into by Colonel Durand in the following year were the immediate fruit of this raid, the Hunza-Nagar campaign of 1891, undertaken to compel the observance of the conditions then agreed to, its ultimate result. The two little robber republics which had so long terrorised the passes leading to Central Asia, were released by that brief but brilliant operation from the tyranny of their own chiefs, and accepted British rule, when seen to be inevitable, with cheerfulness if not with joy. The valley, throughout its lower course of sixty miles, is divided between the two highland kingdoms, that of Hunza occupying the northern, and that of Nagar the southern bank of the stream. The upper section of eighty miles further, is exclusively under Hunza dominion, which extends to the crest of the Kilik Pass over the Hindu Khush. Although transit over the latter is comparatively easy, the difficulties of the road only commence on its hither side, the track running along the edges of precipices, where it is sometimes carried by frail supports, and crossing some three or four glaciers, one a mile and a half in width, before reaching Hunza. As far as the latter point it is impassable for laden animals, and all baggage has to be carried by porters. The lower part of the valley for twenty miles below the little capitals, is diversified by a series of oases, in which a walled fort, surrounded by a group of mud hovels, rises from a belt of carefully terraced fields producing crops of millet, barley, wheat, and buckwheat, with orchards of apples, apricots, peaches, walnuts, and even grapes. The Hunza villages contain a population of some 7000, while those of Nagar have 10,000 inhabitants. They are nominal Mohammedans of different sects, but are more addicted to spirit worship and the use of charms and spells than to any other form of devotion. The two republics owned a double allegiance marked only by an annual interchange of presents both to China and Kashmir, while they are now actually under British rule. Mr. Curzon condemns the Indian Government for the withdrawal of the subsidy paid for two years before the outbreak of hostilities as a compensation for the loss of revenue from the suppression of caravan raiding, and thinks that it should be restored as a reward and security for the loyalty of the chiefs. The former rulers, who were both tyrants and robbers, having been deposed, other members of the reigning families were placed on the throne of each State as the nominees of the Indian Government, and it would conduce to the political tranquillity of the country if it were known that its chiefs were generously treated by those who have deprived them of substantial power.

The Pamirs.—From the Kilik Pass at the head of the Kanjut Valley, Mr. Curzon debouched on the wild and desolate region of the Pamirs, as to which he begins by correcting many previous misconceptions. Though lying at an altitude of from 12,000 ft. to 14,000 ft. above the sea, the “Roof of the World” is in no sense “a vast tableland” as sometimes described, nor does it consist of “a series of bare and storm-swept downs,” as other instructors of the public have said. According to Mr. Curzon, it would indeed be difficult to imagine anything less like the latter than “these troughs or valleys, shelving downwards to a river bed or lake, and uniformly framed on either hand by mountains whose heads are perpetually covered with snow.”

Correctly described [he goes on] a Pamir in theory, and each Pamir in fact, is neither a plain, nor a down, nor a steppe, nor a plateau, but a mountain valley of glacial formation, differing only from the adjacent or from other mountain valleys in its superior altitude, and in the greater degree to which its trough has been filled up by glacial detritus, owing to the inability of the central stream to scour for itself a deeper channel. Every Pamir that I have seen possesses the same characteristics associated with a greater or less width. These are the bordering presence of successive mountain peaks, snow crowned above, sometimes seamed with glaciers, and terminating in steep shingle slopes or boulder-strewn undulations lower down, in the bottom of the valley a river, or stream, or mountain torrent, noisily spreading itself over a stony bed, or meandering in a peaty track, and sometimes feeding a lake or succession of lakes; and on either bank of the stream or lake a more or less level expanse of spongy soil, usually covered with a coarse yellow grass, and frequently broken up by swampy patches exactly like the ground on a Scotch moor. With the grassy stretches, which are green and flower-bestrewn in the summer only, and during the rest of the year—when not covered with snow—are sere and yellow, are interspersed expanses of sand and clay and stones, very often overlaid with a powdery incrustation of magnesium that glitters like a hoar frost in the sun.

Here one may wander for weeks without encountering a human being, the only inhabitants being nomad Kirghiz, who find in some parts of these upland valleys abundant pasture for their flocks during the summer months. The savage rigours of the Roof of the World furnish the conditions required for the existence of one special form of animal life, for here alone is found the *ovis poli*, so called because first described by Marco Polo. These grand mountain sheep stand, when full grown, eleven hands high, and have twisted horns between 5 ft. and 6 ft. in length. The most prized of trophies from the inaccessibility of their haunts, not more than a dozen have fallen to the rifle of British sportsmen, yet their numbers are said by our author to be diminishing, and their extinction to be within measurable distance if not preserved in some way.

The Sources of the Oxus.—One of the most important results of Mr. Curzon's journey is the light it has thrown on the course of the Upper Oxus, a matter of international moment, since it forms the limit between Russian and Afghan territory as defined by treaty. The determination therefore of the true source of the stream will decide one of the outstanding frontier disputes between British and Muscovite diplomacy. Mr. Curzon's arbitrament, if accepted as final, would settle the point in favour of the latter, for he maintains that the southern branch, as the Russians have always claimed, is the main branch of the river. An examination of the three localities which have laid claim to the parentage of the great stream has led the traveller to the conclusion that its true fountain-head is the large glacier near the Wakh-jir Pass from whose two terminal ice-caves it gushes out in perennial flow. This southern stream, known as the Panju, he therefore maintains to be "the veritable Amu Daria of the Persian, and Oxus of the Greek vocabulary," despite the tempting etymological argument which derived the latter name from the local one of Aksu or White Water, applied to its northern branch.

Chitral and the Frontier.—Returning by Chitral, the ruler of which has been assassinated since his visit, Mr. Curzon gives a forcible view of the commanding position of that little State in the system of Indian frontier defence. On its mountainous block of 9000 square miles in extent, converge the roads from three main passes leading to Wakhan and the Pamirs, of which one, the Baroghil, is commonly spoken of as the Northern Gate of India, while it commands to the south an easy route to Jellalabad and Peshawur, from which latter it is distant only 180 miles. The traveller here diverged from the direct road in order to visit the wild and partially unexplored country between Chitral and Kashmir, most of which is as yet outside the limit of direct British control. The outpost here is the fort of Chilas, occupied since March 1893 by the Kashmir Imperial Service troops, some 400 strong, under the command of two British officers. West of Chilas on both sides of the Indus, extends the least known region of the entire frontier. Generically termed Kohistan, or mountain country, it is inhabited by a number of independent tribes perpetually at war with each other, but linked with the Punjab by intermittent trading relations. Still wilder and more lawless are the clans of Trans-Indus Yaghistan, whose isolated glens are occupied by separate communities. The peoples of Buner and Swat, which impinge on

British territory, are the best known, as their raiding propensities have occasionally required to be repressed. At Abbottabad, 160 miles from Chilas, the traveller terminated his ride of 1200 miles over the border-land of North-western India. It was accomplished in fifty-four marching days, exclusive of halts, although the road lay through the loftiest mountain region in the world, where rivers had constantly to be forded, cliffs to be scaled, and passes crossed, at altitudes of from 13,000 ft. to 16,000 ft. high, while peaks rising to 20,000 ft. and 26,000 ft. were seldom lost sight of. Considering that all baggage and camp equipment had to be carried by porters, 21 miles a day over the entire distance was certainly a high average. His subsequent visit to Afghanistan, though full of political as well as geographical interest, lay through a country which, if scarcely better known, is at least less wild and impassable than those previously traversed.

The Nicaragua Canal.—The passage of the Nicaragua Canal Bill through the Senate of the United States by 31 votes to 21, implies, in all probability, the adoption of that enterprise as a national undertaking. The Government will by its provisions become the owner of 70 per cent. of the capital of the company, guaranteeing interest at the rate of 3 per cent. on 70 million dollars' worth of bonds, the principal to fall due in not less than ten, nor more than thirty years. Under the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, the entire waterway will have to be neutralised like the Suez Canal, and negotiations on this subject have been for some time in progress between the English Government and that of the United States. No insuperable engineering difficulties, like those encountered at Panama, are anticipated on this part of the American isthmus, and of the total length of 170 miles there will be only 27 of exclusively artificial cutting, the remaining 143 being supplied by existing lake and river channels. The summit level will be that of the Lake of Nicaragua, 110 ft. above the sea. This magnificent inland basin, 110 miles long and 40 broad, with a depth in parts of 240 ft., will supply accommodation for anchorage, docking, and refitting, while its discharge of 14,724 cubic feet per second will furnish a practically unlimited reserve of water for the locks on both sides. These will be six in number, with a length of 650 ft., a breadth of 80 ft., and a lifting power of from 30 ft. to 45 ft. Starting from near Greytown on the Atlantic, the waterway will be carried by a canal to and along the left bank of the San Juan River as far as its junction with the San Carlos

after which the river-bed forms the channel, requiring only three short canals of the aggregate length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to unite it to the lake. The valleys of the Rio del Medio and the Rio Grande will thence form its route to the Pacific, which it will reach at the port of Brito. A heavy piece of cutting, nearly three miles long, with an average height of 141 ft., begins at the eighteenth mile from Greytown, and the great dam at Ochoa, 1900 ft. long and 70 ft. high at its culminating point, will also be a work of considerable difficulty. The cutting will, it is said, lie mostly through hard rock admitting of steep slopes, but may present greater difficulties than are anticipated. Some part of the cutting at the Greytown end has already been accomplished by the company now about to be bought out, and among its assets is a railway of 12 miles long up to the "Great Divide," facilitating the transport of machinery and material to the most difficult portion of the work. The climate is healthy as compared with that of Panama, despite a mean temperature for the year of over 77 degrees. The official estimate of 28 hours for the transit of a ship is probably a great deal too low, and the calculation of a French engineer, allowing 36 hours, or three days if the traffic were stopped at night, is doubtless nearer the mark. Its cost is computed at about 20 millions sterling, and the time required for its completion seven years. It is well to bear in mind in forecasting its future, that the soil of Nicaragua is said to be liable to earth tremors to an extent that may prove a source of disaster.

Progress and Prospects of the Chartered Company in South Africa.—The meeting of shareholders in the British South Africa Company, held in London on January 18th, furnished an opportunity for a review of the advance in the prospects of the new territories due to the incorporation of Matabeleland in its area. Including the country north of the Zambesi, lying between the Congo State, German East Africa, and the Portuguese dominions, the administration of which was made over to the company in February 1891, it is now in occupation of a country 1200 miles long by 500 broad, for the most part healthy enough for European colonisation, and containing the promise of great mineral wealth. Two lines of railway communication are converging on it from the south and from the west. The former has now been extended to Mafeking, within 500 miles of Bulawayo, and the latter from the navigable Pungwe river to Chimoio, has passed the dreaded fly belt, and leaves only 70 miles of good waggon road between its terminus

and some of the richest parts of the colony. The financial affairs of the company have been so successfully administered as to have nearly attained a balance between revenue and expenditure, despite the cost of the Matabele campaign, with every prospect of paying an actual dividend next year. The sales of land in Buluwayo had already realized £53,000, and it is at such a premium that Mr. Rhodes was able to tell the shareholders that a lot originally sold for £160 had just fetched £3000, the buildings since erected on it being valued at £1200. While the ex-kraal of Lobengula is thus adapting itself to the needs of civilisation, his people are settling down quietly to agriculture, and their indunas have contentedly accepted administrative posts under the company.

Notices of Books.

The Last Abbot of Glastonbury and His Companions. An Historical Sketch. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., of the Order of St. Benedict. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 1895.

DR. GASQUET'S latest contribution to English history recounts the martyrdoms of three contemporary Benedictine Abbots of the reign of Henry VIII., Richard Whiting of Glastonbury, Hugh Cook of Reading, and Thomas Marshall, *alias* Beche, of Colchester. The first-named receives by far the lengthiest notice, and the book forms a fitting sequel to the author's treatise on the suppression of the monasteries; for whereas that great work restored the reputations of the monastic bodies, this comparatively small volume is mainly devoted to an individual object lesson, or character sketch, of a great Abbot. There is little in it with which the most hypercritical of reviewers could fairly find fault; yet we venture to begin our criticism with a complaint. The author opens with a delightful description of ancient days at Glastonbury Abbey—it must be remembered that its most modern existence ended more than three hundred and fifty years ago—and he has just raised the curtain upon a charming scene of monastic life in the Middle Ages, when he lets it fall before he has finished his thirteenth page. Since he, as it were, pauses there, we will do so also, in order to say a word or two as to the material aspects of his book. It is often said that Catholic publications in England are, as a rule, badly got up and very expensive; in the case of "The Last Abbot of Glastonbury," on the contrary, the mystery is how so excellent a production can be so cheap. In addition to a magnificent coat of arms, which rivals the coat of Benjamin in the variety and brilliance of its colours, there are several interesting facsimiles of letters and other autographs, illustrations of old ornaments and furniture, and, best of all, some two dozen admirable reproductions from architectural photography, which are very carefully arranged in accurate relation to the accompanying letterpress. The result is that the reader seems to be strolling among interesting ruins with a learned and very agreeable companion, who so continues his conversation, that at the turn of a page, as at the turn of a pathway, he is confronted with a picturesque old chapel, a

fine fragment of a noble transept, a rich Norman doorway, or the bleak and broken arches of a once magnificent monastic choir, just as incidents, which took place in their vicinity, are undergoing description or discussion.

The last Abbot of Glastonbury was born soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, and he came from a younger branch of a wealthy family. His parents were tenants of the then Abbot of Glastonbury, and Richard Whiting was educated at the monastery school. He was sent to Cambridge, where he took his Master's degree in 1483, and then he returned to Glastonbury, to become a very exemplary monk; but he was not ordained priest until eighteen years after he had taken his degree at Cambridge, to which University he returned, four years later still, to take his final degree as Doctor in Theology. He then became "*Camerarius*," or Chamberlain, at Glastonbury, a post which, in such an immense establishment, would place him in authority over a very large staff of officials and servants. Whiting had been a Doctor of Divinity twenty years, when Bere, then Abbot of Glastonbury, died, and on the forty-seven monks in holy orders meeting in the chapter-house to elect a successor, they unanimously agreed to proceed by "*compromise*," a term which, in this case, meant placing the choice of an Abbot in the hands of a single individual.

With one accord, the monks selected for this all-important office no less a person than Cardinal Wolsey, of whom Dr. Gasquet has this to say, that, "whatever his defects, due credit has not been given him for the real and enlightened care which he bestowed on the true welfare of the religious orders." Wolsey nominated Richard Whiting as Abbot, and Dr. Gasquet gives a graphic and an animated description of the reception of his decision at Glastonbury, and the proclamation from the steps of the high altar, with its antependium of solid silver studded with jewels, before the whole community of monks and the large crowd which filled the immense nave.

Of the excellence of Abbot Whiting's rule and administration there is abundant evidence, and as to the courage with which he eventually met the fate of a martyr, there seems to be no doubt; but in the meantime we are brought face to face with a very unpleasant fact, from which the bold author does not for a moment flinch. The last Abbot of Glastonbury, like the last Abbot of Colchester, as well as Abbot Cook of Reading, appears to have signed the infamous and disgraceful oath of supremacy prescribed by Henry VIII.; and that, not the oath containing the saving clause "*as far as the law of Christ will allow*" (see "*Lingard*," vol. iv., chap. viii.)—that they had already signed—but the oath of 1534, in which that clause was

altogether omitted, and of which, says Dodd (Dodd and Tierny, vol. i., p. 240), "the most exceptional part" stated, "*that the Roman bishop had received from God no more jurisdiction in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop,*" to which most of the Prelates and Abbots put their trembling hands." Nevertheless, Dr. Gasquet believes that "to many the oath of royal supremacy of the Church of England was never understood as derogatory to the see of Rome. While even those who had taken this oath were in many instances surprised that it should be construed into any such hostilities." And he adds: "However strained this temper of mind may appear to us at this time, it undoubtedly existed."

We may wish that the three Benedictine Abbots, whose histories are given in this volume, had shared the earlier martyrdoms of B. John Fisher and B. Thomas More, and like them, and like some of the Observants, Brigittines, and Carthusians (see Lingard, vol. v., chap. 1), refused to touch the accursed thing; but we must none the less honour their martyrdoms, in their proper places. Thomas Crumwell, who, as Dr. Gasquet says, "may be regarded as the chief political contriver of the change of religion in England," encouraged the superiors of the monasteries to "surrender" their houses to the king; and by this means a certain number were dissolved. Where there were no symptoms of surrender, if upon the faintest colour of pretence, he could make out that there had been the slightest irregularities or scandals, he suppressed the monasteries; and by this method many more were disposed of. But, where no voluntary surrender was made, and where no kind of excuse could be conjured up for a suppression on the score of scandal or irregularity, he took care that some pretext should be found for accusing the Abbots of high treason, upon which he had them hanged, drawn, and quartered, and seized their monasteries, their lands, and their goods. There was no escape. Thus we find in Crumwell's "Remembrances" the orders, "Item the abbot Redyng to be sent down to be tryed and executyd at Redyng with his complycys. Item the abbot of Glaston to [be] tryed at Glaston, and also executyd there with his complycys." In the account of the trial and execution of Abbot Whiting, there are many details which are as pathetic as they are interesting; and, throughout the work, the incidentals, as well as the local colouring is rich and excellent.

Short—too short—as is the book under notice, full justice cannot be done to it in a review of moderate length; but no praise on our part is necessary to attract the attention of readers to a book whose author is acknowledged, by common consent, to be one of the two, or perhaps the three, ablest and most agreeable writers on English history now living.

T. L.

Œuvres de Saint François de Sales. T. IV. *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu.* 2 vols. Annecy: J. Niérat. 1894.

TWO more volumes of Canon Mackey's great French edition of St. Francis de Sales have reached us. This instalment of the "definitions" edition is peculiarly interesting, for it consists of the famous treatise on the "Love of God."

In an introduction which runs to nearly a hundred pages, Canon Mackey gives the reader the history of this celebrated work, its plan and contents, its sources and peculiarities, its dogma, asceticism and mysticism, and finally an account of the printed and MS. materials which have contributed to this new edition of the text.

None of the writings of St. Francis seem to have been so completely his own inspiration as the "Love of God." Seven or eight years before it was sent to press, he told St. Jane Frances that he was writing the admirable life of a "Saint" she had never heard of—the life of "la Sainte Charité." Three years later, at the beginning of 1607, he writes: "In great devotion I prepare to set to work on the 'Love of God'; and I will do my best to write it not only on the paper but on my heart." The Sisters of the Visitation, which was founded at the time, as soon as they understood what he was doing, gave him no peace until he had completed it. More than all, St. Jane Frances kept urging him to give himself up to the work; and the conferences and instructions which he found it necessary to give to the first mothers of the Visitation determined to a great extent both the idea of the book, and its distinctive character. It seems to have been finished towards the end of 1614. It was then most carefully revised—the Saint going through, with many tears of sweet devotion, those beautiful pages which transcribed so much of his own spirit. The first edition appeared on July 31st, 1616, and was issued from the printing-house of Pierre Rigaud, "of the Rue Mercière, at the corner of the Rue Ferrandiène," at Lyons.

This first edition, the only one for which the holy author is responsible, though by no means the only one brought out during his life, is followed in the present "definitive" edition. The only differences are that errors of the press are corrected, one or two evident mistakes are eliminated, and the "personal spelling" of St. Francis himself is substituted for the spelling of the Lyons printer. It will be remembered that Canon Mackey elaborately established this "personal spelling" in his Preface to the third volume, the "Introduction à la vie dévote" (pp. lxvii. lxviii). But there exists a considerable collection of MS. materials, the comparison of which with the text finally adopted by the Saint is most instructive and

interesting. The Sisters of the Visitation have been collecting these MSS. for many years. Fragments have been found in all directions—generally single sheets, sometimes cut in two to satisfy some devout client of St. Francis. There are, however, two longer *cahiers*, one of 125 folios and another of 94, almost wholly in the Saint's own handwriting, which are printed in the Appendix to these present volumes, for the first time. They prove how carefully St. Francis revised his work. He shortens, he condenses, he cuts out allegories and illustrations, he suppresses personal allusions, and, generally, lifts the book from the style of an extemporaneous outpouring to that of a dignified and finished literary effort. Many of the admirers of the specially Salesian *naïveté* will in several instances be sorry for the alteration. There is also a very interesting MS. by St. Jane Frances, consisting of "extracts" made by her from the *cahiers* of the work before it was printed.

Canon Mackey's observations on the theology and philosophy of the "Amour de Dieu" are generally sound and convincing. The first four books of the treatise, which contain a philosophical description of the passion or impulse of Love, have proved an obstacle to many devout readers who have taken up the work. The truth is, the Saint, although he makes difficult points marvellously clear and far more comprehensible than any previous writer, does not address the crowd in this treatise on Divine Love. He writes for instructed persons, and for those who have learned and endeavoured to practise the interior life. His purpose is twofold—to lead theologians and men of intelligence to spirituality, and to let spiritual neophytes feel that their experiences are not to be in a different region from their human intelligence and will, but are only an enhancement of natural operations. In the age of St. Francis it was beginning to be the fashion on the one hand to deny that mysticism was reasonable, and on the other to refuse to rational theology any share in the spiritual life. This divorce between reason (or a man's human faculties) and exalted devotion has been a danger in various periods of the world. In St. Francis's day the learned were laughing at high spirituality, and the mystics were taking to writing jargon of a very repulsive kind. In the holy Bishop of Geneva we have a man raised up by God to speak "wisdom among the perfect." He sits among the philosophers as an equal, and he leads philosophy to spirituality with the power of a Saint. The reason why these first four books seem in a sense superfluous is that St. Francis himself has done this particular work once for all.

One of the most masterly and novel passages of this Introduction is where Canon Mackey describes the mistakes of both Bossuet and

Fénélon in their appeal to St. Francis de Sales on the subject of Quietism. There can be no doubt that the half-contemptuous remarks of Bossuet have caused this great treatise—which is St. Francis's most valid title to the Doctorate—to be under-valued and somewhat neglected. Bossuet said that St. Francis had "more good intention than science." It is clear that the Eagle of Meaux had not taken the trouble to read his author through, and that he is completely wrong in the deductions he draws from two passages in particular (see *Introduction*, lxx. sqq.).

Every library should possess this fine edition of a Catholic classic. The paper is excellent, the printing superb, and the whole get-up worthy of the author.

Vie de la Vénérable Mère Marie Poussepin, Fondatrice de la Congrégation des Sœurs de Charité de la Présentation de la Sainte Vierge. Par le Dr. B. T. Pouan. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1894.

BIOGRAPHIES on the scale of this life of a very remarkable woman are rather intended as books of reference than for the general reader. The author, who enters with great zest into his task, admits that he has inserted a good deal of matter that might have been omitted; but, as he says, the book had to serve as the "annals" of the Presentation as well as relate the story of its foundress. She was a lady of the diocese of Versailles who, at the end of the seventeenth century, founded a Congregation of Dominican tertiaries for teaching poor children and visiting the sick. Although the Congregation owed everything to the Dominican Father Mespolié, and for the first fifty years of its existence was known by the name of the "Jacobines"—from the well-known name by which the Friar-Preachers were distinguished in France—yet when it was finally accorded canonical institution (in the diocese of Chartres) the Bishop entirely remodelled its Constitutions and cut out everything which could in any way keep up its connection with the Order of St. Dominic. The venerable foundress felt this very hard, but she was a woman of great breadth of mind and solid piety, and she saw in the end that if her institute was to be anything more than a Third Order, it must be under the Bishop. The book is brought out with great care and even with luxury, excellent portraits and plans illustrating the history throughout. Altogether, it forms an attractive "mémoire" on a most interesting period—the period of Madame de Maintenon and of Fénélon. The writer gives no statistics

of these Presentation Sisters at the present day, but their Mother House appears to be in the diocese of Tours. A commendatory letter from Cardinal Meignan, Archbishop of Tours, is given at the beginning of the book.

Catholic Truth Society's Publications.

WE have received a number of the very useful tracts and pamphlets lately issued by the Catholic Truth Society. We must all admit the excellence of the aim of the Society and the thoroughly practical means it adopts to put within the reach of every one, Catholic or non-Catholic, at the lowest possible price, and in a handy form, good sound instruction on those matters most commonly misunderstood by our separated brethren. Viewing as a whole the batch of its recent publications, we have been struck by the kindly considerate way in which controverted subjects are, as a rule, dealt with; nothing can be gained by polemical bitterness, least of all in that appeal to the fair play and common sense of Englishmen, which is a chief function of the Catholic Truth Society. Of the pamphlets recently to hand we have in a category apart another of Father Richard Clarke's little penny books of meditations, one of the most successful ventures of the Society. This number treats of "Faith and Hope," and will be of use and comfort to many souls.

The historical pamphlets to hand cover a wide field, "The Life and Writings of St. Peter," with notes by the Rev. W. H. Cologan, is first on the list. It is wonderful what a cumulative force there is in the juxtaposition of the ninety-one passages of the Gospels wherein mention is made of Blessed Peter. These, Father Cologan has printed in full, together with the verses in the Acts which treat of the Vicar of Christ; and in conclusion, the two magisterial letters of the Saint, encyclicals of the first Pope, are given. The notes, historical and doctrinal, are excellent; one in particular strikes us as worth noting. Commenting on St. Luke xxii. 24-32, "He that is the greater among you... He that is the leader," F. Cologan says, "Note Our Lord's words... Therefore there *was* a 'greater,' there *was* a 'leader.'"

The Bishop of Clifton's paper on "The Roman Catacombs," carries us a stage further, and had we but the magic-lantern slides (or corresponding illustrations) to which it is intended to be a guide, its value as an object lesson in early Catholicity would be very great. It is remarkable how much that we are accustomed to look upon as a later development had already attained a very full

development before the closing of the Catacombs; the use of symbolism, the cultus of our Lady, the dignity attaching to St. Peter's name and office, are all to be found in those sacred retreats. Alas! that the Church can no longer count on the devotedness of De Rossi to explore and decipher these priceless remains of the early Roman Church.

Mrs. Ward's "St. Anselm" gives us a readable little life of the greatest of the Norman prelates who sat in St. Augustine's chair. Naturally, the writer draws largely on Mr. Martin Rule's valuable history of the grand archbishop. A trifling error occurs at page 5, where mention is made of a cathedral at Gloucester in the times of the Saint; the see of Gloucester was founded during the schism by Henry VIII., and was not recognised as a Catholic bishopric till the reconciliation of England with Rome under Queen Mary.

"The Rood of Boxley; or, How a Lie Grows," by Father Bridgett, C.S.S.R., is already well known; in his "Blunders and Forgeries," the author has uprooted many Protestant tares, and so slowly does truth prevail that they are constantly reappearing. The C. T. S. does well, therefore, to keep in circulation tracts like this which expose in detail some of the stock objections of the enemy. The preface and postscript are worth noting. Father Bridgett's view of the Rood of Boxley story has been endorsed by so high an authority as Mr. Gairdner; yet in spite of this the Rev. J. Cave Brown, Vicar of Detling, Kent, has, in his "History of Boxley Parish" (1892), not hesitated to furbish up anew all the old slanders which Father Bridgett has been at such pains to lay at rest. Mr. J. Cave Brown is satisfactorily dealt with in the postscript.

Another standard objection to the Catholic Church is based on its persecuting spirit as exemplified in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Rev. William Loughnan, S.J., puts the real state of the case temperately enough in the paper entitled, "St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572." We may regret the necessity for constantly being obliged to deal with such worn-out subjects, while there is so much that is more important to be done, but so long as souls are hindered by such seeming obstacles from joining the Church, our efforts to set things in their true light must be unsparing.

In "Mr. Collette as a Historian," Father Sydney Smith, S.J., exposes the strange historical methods of Mr. Collette, a notorious lecturer and writer in the interests of the ultra-Protestant party. Taking only one pamphlet of Mr. Collette's, that on "Henry VIII. and the Royal Supremacy," Father Smith examines it page by page, and convicts its author of thirty-one notable deviations from historical truth. The fact that Father Smith relies as much as

possible on non-Catholic writers, renders his little work the more valuable.

To conclude this section, we have Father Bridgett's "Flag of Truce; or, Must we Fight for Ever?" A few salient points of Catholic practice are taken—devotion to the Saints; prayer for the dead, the use of images, &c., and ample justification found for them in the standard works of Protestant poets and literary men. The idea is a good one, which we hope Father Bridgett will follow out on the larger scale suggested in his preface.

In matters of more pressing controversial interest we have a reprint, with notes by the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A., of Cardinal Wiseman's "most uncomfortable article" in the DUBLIN for August, 1839. May "The Anglican Claim of Apostolical Succession," once more be wisely read, to the enlightenment of many who are now where John Henry Newman was on its first appearance. The arguments are as valid now as they were forty-six years ago, and have not been, nor will be, answered.

The fourth volume of "The Church of Old England" series has also appeared; it contains sixteen tracts which have already done good work, all bearing more or less on matters of current interest in the great work of Catholic propaganda. Of similar value is the excellent shilling volume, "Forty Catholic Tracts," on Doctrine, History, Controversy, and Temperance. There remain to notice only Mr. John Hobson Matthews' "Continuity Reconsidered," and the Papal letter on the "Reunion of Christendom," which has awakened so wide an interest throughout the world. This, and Cardinal Vaughan's now historical paper on the same subject, delivered at the Preston Conference of the Catholic Truth Society, on September 10th, 1894, are the last of the more recent publications of the Society. They call for no commendation. Circulation, not criticism, is what they need; they should be distributed broadcast among our own poor, and be ever at hand to lend to those who are not yet of the household of the faith.

In "Christmas Verses" we have a tiny halfpenny booklet of very charming carols by May Probyn and Katharine Tynan; in "Ursel and other Stories" a most readable contribution to our Catholic light literature. In this the author, Mrs. Frances Maitland, has achieved a great success. Her tales deal for the most part with a new and interesting set of people, the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Catholics of the Lowlands and Galloway. It is pleasant to find oneself among this simple earnest people, so true to the instincts of the faith amid the dour surroundings of Presbyterianism. The story of Ursel's flight and ultimate conversion is capitally told; Corbie-

Katie, "widow and apostle," is a very touching tale full of true teaching for our younger folk, of the quiet and fruitful labours of a poor beggar woman, whose voluntary poverty was sanctified by a rare zeal for souls. The other stories are equally good and sound in tone. We want more books of this kind to circulate among our own people and others beside; in the midst of the profusion of rubbish in the way of light reading which fills the shops and bookstalls, it is well to have books so well written and so captivating as this to put into our children's hands; and by lending them to those not of the household much good may be done, where a more direct Catholic teaching would not be listened to. These remarks remind us that the Society has republished for a penny the admirable Advent Pastoral of the Bishop of Newport and Menevia, "On Reading." A wide circulation should be given to this little tract, so full of sound and practical advice on what is now, practically, part of the daily life of every man, woman, and child in the Kingdom.

"The Temperance Speeches of Cardinal Manning" have been in great measure collected and edited, with a pithy preface, by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, M.A. In no Christian and philanthropic work was the late Cardinal so warmly interested in his latter days as in the promotion of temperance. "I have for years," he said, "I say it openly and boldly, been a fool for Christ's sake in the matter of intoxicating drink, and so I hope to die." Mr. Kegan Paul regrets the falling off in the temperance movement among Catholics since the Cardinal's death; doubtless the free circulation of this collection of his speeches will do much to revive the flagging energies of the enemies of the drink traffic. Its value as a handy volume of facts and figures, urged with all the force and authority of the late Cardinal, will certainly be of great value to preachers and lecturers in the cause of temperance.

Controversial subjects are handled by Father Sydney F. Smith, S.J., in "The Doctrine of Intention," by Father Angus in "Geographical Catholicism," and by an anonymous writer in "Sacred Ceremonies." The latter is in catechetical form, and is obviously addressed to the simplest minds. There are still many thousands, we suppose, not yet educated up to a higher level in the externals of religion, to whom the lessons of these few pages are necessary. The other papers named are meant to meet two of the commoner fallacies much in vogue just now among certain sections of the High Church Party. Father Sydney Smith is a forcible antagonist of the theory first put about, we believe, by Dr. Littledale; Father Angus is a writer of a lighter vein, who uses with his usual skill the less formidable weapon of a kindly playfulness.

Of more domestic interest are the remaining works not yet alluded to. Father Bridgett's "Reapers for the Harvest" is "a treatise for laymen and women" dealing with a subject of primary importance, the supply of candidates for the priesthood. Like everything that Father Bridgett writes, these few pages are of deep interest, and the warm letter which Cardinal Vaughan has prefixed will add weight to the lessons so much needed if the Catholic body is to continue to do its work in England.

"The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi" is an old favourite, now reprinted, after careful revision by Mr. Thomas Okey, from the edition published some years since by the Franciscan Friars of Upton.

Dom Laurence Hendricks has published in the Biographical Series a brochure on "The English Carthusian Martyrs under Henry VIII.; the history of their constancy and martyrdom will bear retelling, and has its lessons for an ease-loving generation. D. Maurice Chauncy, an eye-witness of what he described, is of course the chief authority consulted, with side-light from contemporary chronicles and the State papers and records. There is one Carthusian martyr about whom we should like some information, D. Andreas, Prior of Seitz in Austria, who was taken prisoner by the Turks and cruelly martyred on March 3rd, 1529. This, by the way, would entitle him to be called the Protomartyr of the Carthusian Order, an honour claimed by Dr. Hendricks for Blessed John Houghton. But was this Prior Andrew of Seitz an Englishman? The suffix "Londinensis" appears after his name in a painting representing the Carthusian Saints and sufferers above a side-altar at the Cartuga of Miraflores near Burgos, where he appears in company with BB. John Houghton, Robert Laurence, and Augustine Webster.

A value of a different kind and no less interest attaches to the descriptive account of "St. Edmund's College," old Hall, by the very Rev. Bernard Ward. We have no doubt our other Catholic schools will be moved to emulate the excellent example set them by the President of St. Edmund's. All old Edmundians, and they are a numerous body, will be glad of this bright account of Alma Mater.

There remain but two other publications of the Catholic Truth Society to bring before the notice of our readers; a memoir of "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina" (1525-1594) and "Our Church Music: what it is and what it should be." The latter is a reprint of six lengthy letters on this well-discussed subject contributed to the *Catholic Times* during the summer of 1894. In both, the same laudable endeavour is manifest to inspire us with a love for the traditional music of the Church and the compositions of the Palestrina School. With all our present-day faults, it may be doubted whether

things are as bad as they were when the "Musicae Princeps" began his glorious work. Such reform as there was, was, in his time, brought about by his good example and the heaven-sent genius and beauty of his sacred music; perhaps if we had more of this nowadays we should mend our musical ways faster than by the excellent lessons and well-deserved strictures of our instructors. The writer of the six letters, Mr. Jacobs Kötter, is something of a purist, and would in some things, *e.g.*, in the restriction of the use of the organ, go further than the latest authoritative directions of the Congregation of Rites. Still, he has much to say that is worth the attention of priests and people.

Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri : nuovamente rivedute nel testo. Da Dr. E. Moore. Oxford : Nella Stamperia dell' Università.

PROBABLY one of the most arresting, certainly one of the most discouraging, thoughts awakened by an examination of the literary movements of our day, is that, amid the labour, the erudition and the love which have been bestowed upon Dante of late years in England, not a single original work has come from Catholic hands. Among the noble army of his English students, of whom Cary, Church, Carlyle, Butler, Plumptre, Norton, Moore, and Vernon may be accepted as leaders of divisions, not one Catholic appears. The fact of not having in English an original Catholic book on Dante is a reproach to our scholarship; sadly emphasised if we realise that his life work was not simply that of a man who happened to be born, to live, and to die a Catholic. The plan, action, aim of the "Commedia," are of the very breath and being of Catholicism; its central idea and culmination are of the essence of Catholic Theology; its frame, body, spirit, are intimately one with and could only grow out of Catholic Philosophy. True, astronomy, politics, history, ancient mythology, and mediæval legend, are inwoven with its myriad-coloured web, but that texture is, and must always remain, of the fibre of our Theology. Its order, its unity, its full significance, cannot be adequately apprehended, save by and in the light of Catholicism. A position once so thoroughly understood that in churches was the poem first expounded, and thus given as some sacred sustenance to the people.

Coleridge had a profound thought when contemplating the edifices man builds to God, "whose spires point with silent fingers to the heavens." That is the place the "Commedia" holds in the vast cathedral of poetic thought the mind of man has erected. More than an imperishable reminder of a God above us, His dwelling-place our

home, it is a Song of Redemption—and of Redemption through the co-operation of the Holy Trinity.

It is a song of Redemption in being a vision of the action of God upon the human soul as evinced by His justice (symbolised in Hell), drawing it from its rebellion through gradation of repentance (in Purgatory) into the white light of illimitable love in the Mystic Rose (of Paradise). And as in sinning against God we sin against the Trinity, so in the fulfilment of this redemption is reflected each of the Divine Persons. The threefold division of his subject corresponds with the three kingdoms of Nature, Grace, and Glory; and in the concrete with man sinful, man repentant, and man triumphant. Now Dante's epitaph lays stress on his being a theologian, "master of dogmatic love"; hence the basis of his superstructure is the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, Charity: Faith, in the Father, through His justice as proved by Hell; Hope, in the Son, who Himself directly taught us it, and which is the abiding joy of Purgatory; and Charity, that is Love, the gift of the Holy Spirit, perfected in Paradise. But Dante's idea is a complete system which governs and sanctifies every sphere of human action, which engages and works through the whole soul of man by its trinity of powers. For it is the faculty of memory, and with it the reason, which, in his fallen nature, is impressed and directed by the "Inferno"; it is the will freed, by grace, from grosser trammels and inclining to heavenly direction that acts in the "Purgatorio," and it is the understanding which irradiated in glory gives up its essence in adoration of the Godhead in the "Paradiso."

The study and learning, therefore, which non-Catholics bring to bear upon such a poem, is one of the remarkable literary characteristics of the age, and lays us under a debt difficult of adequate assessment. A crown has been put to such labour by the delegates of the Oxford University Press, by the complete text of all Dante's works, which, under the competent editorship of Dr. Moore, they have brought within compass of one handy volume. No better choice of editor could have been made, nor of the assistance he has received. To Dr. Moore himself we owe a practically new text—based on Witte—of the "Commedia," for exact labours upon which he had already prepared us. No less minute has been his care in treatment of the text of the "Convito," by a collation of the best Italian editions with the two manuscripts we possess in England. Witte is again principally followed for the texts of the "Vita Nuova," and the "De Monarchia"; Fraticelli for the minor poems, the letters, and the "De Vulgari Eloquentia," the latter having been compared with Dr. Prompt's facsimile of the Grenoble MS. Mr. York Powell has arranged the

Canzoniere, and Mr. Paget Toynbee has elaborated an excellent index.

As to completeness, Dr. Moore intentionally errs in that direction, for which we bear him no ill-will. He prints the "*Quæstio de Aqua et Terra*," and not only the six received authentic letters, with the two doubtful ones (to the Bishop of Ostia, and to the friend from Pistoia); but also those (1) to the Counts of Romena, and (1) to the Marquis Malaspina; which latter Scartazzini so warmly condemns as spurious, though Fraticelli, Giuliani, and Witte, are against him. With most Dante scholars Dr. Moore excludes the letter to Giudo da Polenta.

Of the sonnets Dr. Moore prints 51; against the 37 authentic and 8 doubtful of Giuliani, and 44 and 5 of Fraticelli. Of ballads he gives 10; against 10 authentic and 2 doubtful of Fraticelli, and 5 and 4 of Giuliani. Of Canzoniere 21; against 20 authentic and 1 doubtful of both Giuliani and Fraticelli. Of Sextains 4; against 3 and 0 of Fraticelli, and 1 and of 2 Giuliani.

Of the sacred lyrics Dr. Moore finds place, not without questioning their right there, for "*The Seven Penitential Psalms*"; to which, though Scartazzini calls it "*a miserable performance*," Fraticelli would give "*the preference over all other translations . . . any one versed in his other poetry . . . could not help saying: 'This is Dante's work,'*" and the "*Profession of Faith*." Neither the "*Laud in Honour of Our Lady*," which Bonucci edited in 1854, nor the "*New Creed*" Mainardi published in 1871, are, of course, given.

With Dante's two Latin Eclogues, Dr. Moore gives us the couple of Giovanni del Virgilio which occasioned them.

Naturally there is neither note nor commentary: it is much to have the whole text of Dante's poetry and prose from hands which ensure its being the fruit of the best available Dante scholarship. The name of Dr. Moore will secure the book's acceptance, but its intrinsic value should touch a wide and permanent appreciation.

The whole original of a classic in one volume, printed in England, is a novelty and an experiment deserving warm welcome. We hope the reception given this admirable work will justify, and so encourage further experiment in a like direction.

D. M. O'C.

1. **The Republic of Plato.** The Greek Text. Edited with Notes and Essays, by the late B. JOWETT, M.A., Master of Balliol College, and L. CAMPBELL, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1894.
2. **A Companion to Plato's Republic for English Readers.** By BERNARD BOSANQUET, LL.D. London. 1895.

THE almost simultaneous publication of these two works, addressed as the one is to a select, and the other to a popular audience, may perhaps indicate a growing interest in Plato and Platonism among English students. It has been remarked more than once that whenever a time of unrest in religion or philosophy has set in, there is felt the need, unless one is to call it the attraction, of a return to the immortal "Dialogues," with their searching method, their grace and fluency of style, their absence of dogmatism, and their strong dramatic situations. Nevertheless, Plato, despite the immense fame which attends upon him, has scarcely made an impression in our literature at all commensurate with his depth, his versatility, and his charm. At ease, like his master, in Zion, and reaching his conclusions, when he arrives at any, by letting the wind of argument fill the sails and carry him whither it may, the marvellous Greek perplexes most English readers, or else offends them; and it has ever been a small company that gave themselves to follow him. Neither did these, on the whole, enter into his spirit, or fully understand the genius whose fascination subdued them. For the Cambridge Platonists were disciples, not so much of Athens as of Alexandria; the light which burnt for them was kindled by Platonius; and their enthusiasm, to an incredible degree, sprang from a misinterpretation. Critical they never were, but only adepts in a vague sort of mysticism, lovers of philosophical ecstasy, and Realists in the full sense of the word, to whom "ideas" seemed nothing else than individual substances, and the mind a second but more subtle and transparent matter.

Thus, at least, Professor Jowett, coming from the school of Hegel, and holding to his conception of Thought—of "the Notion," as it is technically styled—would have passed judgment on the Platonism which men have so long argued about, and, in England, have put aside as a superannuated mythology. In his view, they did Plato a great injustice, which he set himself to right, all the more willingly that a field was hereby opened to his own rare gifts of Greek scholarship, literary expression, and meditative inquiry. As far back as 1855 the enterprise had been planned, which these volumes, published since his death, may be said to have brought to an end.

The Commentary on Plato designed at that time, led on to a translation, not of "The Republic" alone, but of all the Dialogues, including those like the "Second Alcibiades," which, though undoubtedly spurious, have a certain historical significance. Three editions of this notable work have appeared since 1871, bearing witness to the demand in educated circles for an easy pathway into the central shrine of the philosophy of Greece. But the text remained without Professor Jowett's final touch; and the commentary, fragments of which had long been written, was not more than just ready when the end came. The actual publication we owe to Professor Campbell, of St. Andrews. On the whole, therefore, we must regard these volumes as an appendix, the full value of which is to be sought in the translation they supplement.

Our next work, by Dr. Bosanquet, is of a very different description. It addresses the many who cannot read Greek or Latin, but whose eagerness for some acquaintance with the ancient classic writers has encouraged this and similar attempts to deal with them by means of the English version and copious notes thereupon. For the purposes of study ending in examination, Dr. Bosanquet has produced an admirable little book, sparing no labour, taking on the right hand as on the left from competent editors according to his need, and, we had almost said, grappling more closely with the words of Plato than Professor Jowett's sense of elegant diction permitted him to do. The point is one of unusual importance, and has a bearing upon our traditional manner of rendering Plato, whether in Latin or English, that deserves attention.

Dr. Bosanquet, who was a disciple of Professor Jowett's, could hardly fail to inherit the Hegelian Idealism from his master; and students, especially our Catholic younger ones, should be put on their guard against the excess of Hegelian colouring with which these notes are tinged. We will come back to this consideration by and by. Meanwhile, the instinct which prompts Dr. Bosanquet to resolve the category of "substance," into what common sense would describe as "mere thought," leads him to the valuable method of which his pages make incessant use, viz., that of rendering the Greek in a language not more developed than itself was, as regards philosophical terms, in the days of Plato. With most instructive clearness he points out the fallacy—as widespread as it is uncritical—which would substitute for the naïve or conversational expressions of Socrates, the developed technique that we find in Aristotle. And since our English terminology is derived from the Latin, and abounds in scholastic forms, which are now embedded in common speech, the danger will always be recurring of a mistranslation, pretty much the same as if we

undertook to give the simple Eastern speech of the Bible in some highly abstract Western tongue. Dr. Bosanquet meets this difficulty, which the Master of Balliol has not always surmounted, by turning out of the translation all such words as "substance," "reality," "essence," where the original has more elementary expressions; and, in particular, by marking the slips into Kantian dialect that occur in Vaughan and Davis upon whom he is commenting. No part of his undertaking can have been more troublesome; but he has his reward. The general effect is a decided lighting up of Plato's arguments, and the clearing away of that shadow from the Latin which lies over so many English versions, and hides or even distorts the sense, above all in philosophical writers, in Thucydides, and at times in Aristotle himself.

Now here is a question for the masters of scholasticism that they would do well, as it seems, to ponder. Both the works we are criticising pass by the whole mediæval school as Neo-Platonic. They do not once quote St. Thomas Aquinas. They know nothing of Suarez. They connect the Hellenic with the modern philosophy—with Descartes, Spinoza, and, of course, Hegel—as though no intermediate stage lasting for centuries had come between. While they both insist on the continual developments in Aristotle of germs of thought, in logic, in ethics, in political science, nay, in theology, which the Platonic treatises contain, they imply that the whole Christian reading of these Dialogues down to the modern period was one huge mistake. It will be answered, not unfairly, that neither the Master of Balliol nor his disciple can have looked much into the scholastics. But, on the other hand, how many of the scholastics have read Plato for themselves (or indeed Aristotle?), that is to say, with a critic's intention, and not in order to employ certain isolated texts by way of axioms or postulates? These famous authors have been accommodated, rather than explained for their own sake—adapted to arguments and controversies which they never can have dreamt of; and the gloss overlies the original as in a palimpsest. Criticism endeavours to see the text without the gloss. It is an effort to throw oneself back into mental circumstances most unlike our own, much less complicated, and baffling by their very simplicity. But the use of the Greek philosophers to which we are accustomed is didactic, and as witnesses; it does not aim at being critical. This work, therefore, has still to be undertaken in the schools; and the need is pressing.

Pressing because men like Jowett and Dr. Bosanquet have also their scheme of interpretation, which must tell upon the numbers who will study them, and tell at times disastrously. "The Re-

public," for instance, contains, though not in equal proportion with "Timæus," elements that belong to ethics and religion, nay, to revelation; it discusses not only property, but marriage and the idea of the family; it runs up into an argument for eternal life and the immortality of the soul; it affirms the Supreme Being as the Good itself; and it closes with a Vision of Judgment. What precise value are we to set on these various affirmations, suggestions, parables, intimations from the unseen? Is all the religion, so far as it employs personal language, mythology? Are the parables no more than pictures? Did Plato mean nothing but "category of the ideal" and no *Ens a se*, no living, self-conscious, individual mind, the ground and the cause of all things, when he spoke of the Good? Professor Jowett, while opening this inquiry from many points of view, is content to leave it undecided. But Dr. Bosanquet would willingly explain the mysticism of Plato—which he gets quit of wherever possible—as pictorial ideas, the true meaning of which is German Idealism, or the Impersonal Reason. As often happens, one consequence of refusing to hypostasise ideas—in other words, of making Thought an atmosphere, not an Ever-living Substance or Spirit in the Christian meaning—is that the whole of the transcendental is cut off at a stroke. Whereas "The Republic" again and again looks upward and outward to the eternal, the Hegelian commentator does his utmost to bring it within the sphere of mere earthly generations; and his language might be taken as implying that a refined Positivism would adequately express the mind of Plato. At this point a less partial criticism might have served him better. The influences, the schools, the traditions that meet us even in a work so well wrought out as "The Republic"—and much more, through the whole range of the Dialogues—are not easy to reconcile, perhaps are contradictory. But if the "mythology" had no significance for the Beyond, if the kingdom of ideas did but exist in power and potency, becoming real only as man advanced to social perfection on this side of the grave—in short, if Deity and the life of culture stand related as possibility to act—what can we think, what meaning can we put into the words of Socrates, when that witness to the truth prepares himself for death, and speaks of going to a world in which all justice is fulfilled? Did he mean that his dying would benefit philosophy? Or had the man some far-off touch of faith as Christians conceive of it? The life of the spirit is here and now; it is within us; and Plato desired men to build a Heavenly City below. Doubtless; yet he was no agnostic. If he banished the fabling poets and would none of their stories of the gods, it was because they dishonoured the Supreme. But where is the evidence that

Plato in turning with righteous anger from mythologies so shameful and grotesque, took refuge in ideas that were aspects of no Personal Being? The Alexandrian mystics cut his teaching asunder; they left out the human; they plunged into depths of hysteria, and were among the most dangerous guides the world has ever had. St. Augustine, who knew the Platonic teaching only in their fanciful commentaries, has remarked that he could not find the doctrine of the Incarnation among the articles of their creed. And such is the sure outcome of an excessive and self-willed asceticism; with the mediæval Safis, it is prepared to absorb man's nature and existence in the sea of a mystical intoxication. Yet we must allow that the beginnings of such an excess are to be found within the works of Plato—for who can make a study of "*Phædrus*," of "*The Symposium*," or even of "*Theatetus*," and not perceive the ecstatic philosopher slipping already down the abyss in which Plotinus and Proclus are to follow him? But all these glimpses of what Alcibiades, not without a meaning, calls the "philosophic frenzy," make it in a high degree improbable that the frigid, and sometimes almost secularist, Rationalism of Hegel was the ruling thought of a system whose last word, as it was assuredly its first, is not "intellect," but "love." Thus far, the Neo-Platonists understood their master.

We had many things to say of the topics handled in these suggestive and graceful discussions—of the Utopias in Church and State to which they have led the way, of theories of education, the function of riches, the ancient and modern democracy; of the philosopher-king, and the degree in which a renovated Christendom would fulfil Plato's finest aspirations. Nor could the deep and dreadful shadows which hang such a gloom over the Fifth Book of "*The Republic*" be forgotten—its amazing communism, and all it implies for us in these revolutionary times. Questions, too, of interest for the Greek critic remain; and the chapter on the manuscripts of Plato would repay our study. However, space forbids; and it will be enough to lay stress, in conclusion, upon the twofold undertaking which we would venture to set down on the list of duties yet unaccomplished in our own schools. The first is, to clear from our interpretation every gloss which a due inspection of the original will not justify; the second, to bring out by fitting proofs and citations that in giving to the theological utterances of Plato a value beyond that of symbols, and not merely subjective, we are entering into his thought, rather than sacrificing the spirit which we have failed to understand to the letter we too slavishly follow.

W. B.

Die Inspiration der hl. Schrift in der Anschauung der Mittelalters. Von Dr. KARL HOLZHEY. J. J. Lentners, München. 1895.

IN this little work, of about 150 pages, Dr. Holzhey has given an historical account of the doctrine on Inspiration during the period between Charlemagne and the Council of Trent. The subject, it is true, did not furnish the author with a favourable opportunity to tell his readers much that is new, and as, moreover, the doctrine on Inspiration during the middle ages presents very much the same aspect, the little book perhaps is somewhat dull. Yet, notwithstanding this unavoidable drawback, Dr. Holzhey's book deserves the greatest praise, because it is undoubtedly the result of much study and extensive reading, and still more because, to our knowledge, it is the first instance that the doctrine on Inspiration has been *ex professo* treated by a Catholic theologian from a purely historic point of view. We hope that Dr. Holzhey will continue and complete his work by making the doctrine on Inspiration, as held both during the period preceding the reign of Charlemagne and during that subsequent to the Council of Trent, the subject of a similar study.

The opinions of the various schoolmen on Inspiration are given in a chronological and systematic order. As to the way of explaining this doctrine the schoolmen differed very little. They all, without exception, held that the Canonical Scriptures, as Inspired by the Holy Spirit, contain the Word of God, and consequently are free from all error.

While glancing over this little brochure it is worth remarking how little the schoolmen thought of, in any way, restricting the extent of Inspiration. The well-known distinction between a Divine and human element, according to which the *res et sententiæ* constitute the former, the *stylus et verba* the latter—a distinction generally admitted by theologians after the Council of Trent, and now to be found in almost all our theological books—appears to have wholly escaped their notice. To their minds, it seems, the language as well as the thoughts expressed are the effect of Inspiration. Hence to remove the difficulty of a certain word or passage they never had recourse to the explanation that such a word or passage did not fall under the guarantee of Inspiration, but they would, with St. Augustine, consider the reading of the passage in question to be corrupted, or confess themselves unable to understand it. If the conflict, however, between reason and Scripture was of a graver kind, they would, with Scotus Erigena, try to explain the latter symbolically, for they all admitted that the Scripture contained, besides

the *sensus literalis*, a deeper and superior sense—viz., the “*sensus mysticus*.” “*Simplici historia pascuntur carnales, divinos ipsius historiæ intellectus quasi quedam fragmenta colligunt spirituales*.” (Comm. in ev. Joh. vi. 14.)

Histoire du Second Empire. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE. Tome second. Paris: Librairie Plon, Rue Garancière, 10. 1894. Pp. 458.

THIS is a very interesting account of an interesting period of French history. From the ably-written chapter entitled “L’Empire et la Société Chrétienne,” we extract the following description of Louis Veuillot, as a writer:—“D’instinct il avait pénétré tous les secrets de la langue française. Sous sa main, cet instrument merveilleux rendait tous les sons, interprétait toutes les nuances, se pliait à toutes les impressions de la colère et du mépris, de la tristesse ou de l’ironie. Il était né écrivain, et il le sentait si bien que toujours sa plume suffit à ses ambitions. Sa verve était prime-sautière, originale et surtout de franc jet. Il était de ces privilégiés dont la fécondité donne sans s’épuiser jamais. . . Plus incisif que mesuré, plus vigoureux qu’élégant, il lui arrivait de tomber dans la vulgarité; mais cette vulgarité même était l’un de ses artifices pour retenir les esprits et les frapper. Par la profondeur du trait, il rappelait La Bruyère; par le tour imprévu du langage, par l’exagération puissante des proportions, il faisait penser à Rabelais.”

We await with interest the concluding portion of this excellent history.

Mémoires du Chancelier Pasquier. Publiés par M. LE DUC D’AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER, de l’Académie Française. Deuxième partie, Restauration, I., 1815-1820. Tome quatrième. Paris: Librairie Plon, 10 Rue Garancière. 1894. Pp. 550.

THREE volumes of Pasquier’s Mémoires, treating severally of the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire, have already been published, and have met with a deserved success. The present volume has for its subject the Restoration, and gives a history of the five years from 1815-1820. In the earlier volumes, Pasquier speaks not only as a spectator of the events which he records, but also as one who had taken no small part in them. But Pasquier played a still more considerable part in the events which followed the Re-

storation. Amongst the more interesting portions of the book are those which treat of the trial of Marshal Ney, of Chateaubriand, Talleyrand, Decazes, and of the parliamentary and diplomatical contests of the period of the Restoration.

Institutiones Philosophicæ ad Normam Doctrinæ Aristotelis et S. Thomæ Aquinatis. A PIO DE MANDATO, S.J., in Pont. Univ. Greg. Philosophiæ Professore. Vol. Unicum. Roma : Ex Typographia Polyglotta, S. C. De Propaganda Fide.

THIS is a very clearly written and succinct manual of Philosophy. The doctrine of St. Thomas, which, as far as Philosophy is concerned, is practically that of Aristotle, is set forth in the usual manner. There is nothing new in regard to any point of Philosophy, as far as we have been able to discover. The learned author is pre-eminently conservative. We are of opinion that students, who are preparing for the ordinary theological course, will derive considerable benefit from Fr. De Mandato's work ; but we cannot conscientiously say that it is a contribution of great weight to the solution, or clearing up, of the many difficulties forced upon our consideration in modern times.

We differ on many points. We have space only for a few. "Ontologia," p. 188, n. 31, he says, "Scotus ejusque schola quum profiteantur univocitatem entis multa obijciunt contra Doctrinam S. Thomæ, quo sola salvat discrimen inter creaturam et Creatorem," and then goes on to quote Cajetanus. We differ on several questions from the Scotists, but on this particular point, as on many others, we think they are right in the main. What Scotus and his school really hold is this : that the concept of being *intuitively* perceived by the human intellect is univocal in respect of God and of finite beings, but the idea of the Infinite Being arrived at *discursively* is simply *analogous* to the idea of finite being. Still we agree with the author so far, that, in view of the danger of Ontologism and other errors, it is better to follow the terminology of St. Thomas at the present time.

We are also of opinion that a great deal more might be drawn from the works of St. Thomas in favour of a distinction of reason only between essence and existence in the created being. The question is not a very important one.

In the "Cosmologia," p. 330, he treats the question of the principle of individuation in the corporeal being. He follows undoubtedly the teaching of St. Thomas and places it in the *materia signata*. We are

inclined to side with Suarez and others against the Angelic Doctor. Again, p. 372 ("Cosm."), he holds that the *actio in distans* is evidently impossible. This is denied by Duns Scotus and his school. The late Fr. Carbonelle, S.J., has written very ably on this question from the biological point of view.

In the "Psychologia," he takes the Evolutionists to task, and inasmuch as he attacks evolution as taught by Lamarek, Darwin, and others, we are quite at one with him, but surely there is an evolution which is undeniable, which leaves the argument from design absolutely untouched. The difficulty is to explain *how* it was brought about.

As we expected, we find, "Psych.," p. 507, that the Aristotelean doctrine concerning the union between the soul and body is categorically laid down. This is becoming a very important question, and requires, in our humble opinion, far more careful treatment than is generally given to it. We know of no writer who has treated the matter more ably and accurately from the metaphysical point of view than Fr. Lapidi, O.P., in his "Cosmology." Most of our compilers of manuals persist in dragging in the Council of Vienna as having practically defined the Peripatetic doctrine. All competent persons are aware that the Council of Vienna did nothing of the kind. The whole Peripatetic system on the nature of bodies and the nature of the substantial union between the soul (the *only* vital principle) and body in man remains *after* the Council of Vienna what it was before—viz., a most probable hypothesis. We reject Rosmini's system on other grounds, *e.g.*, because he does not seem to us to hold the union between the soul and body in man is *substantial*. Some of the objections urged by physiologists *may* tell against the Peripatetic system advocated by St. Thomas *against* the opinion (subsequently adopted by Duns Scotus) commonly held by previous scholastic writers, but they do not—and, of [course, cannot—tell against the teaching of the Church, which was not derived originally from Aristotelean sources.

In the "Theologia Naturalis" there is nothing that calls for any remark on our part, except the treatment of the *possibility* of an eternal world, or rather of our inability to prove the impossibility of an eternal world. Here, again, he sides with St. Thomas. We are convinced that mathematical science is clearly against the views of Aristotle and St. Thomas on this point. As to the little work, "De Æternitate Mundi," its authorship is, if we mistake not, open to question.

Though we differ from the learned author on the foregoing points and on many others, we agree with him in the main, and we have

great pleasure in recommending his book to students anxious to gain in a short time an accurate knowledge of the views of Aristotle and St. Thomas on some of the most important questions that can occupy the attention of the intellect of man.

F. D.

Belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ. By the Rev. Fr. DIDON, O.P. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1894.

THIS is an admirable book admirably translated into English. The fact that it is by Fr. Didon, O.P., dispenses us from saying that it is eloquently written. There is more than eloquence to be found in it. It is filled with solid dogmatic and philosophical teaching which one is entitled to expect from a disciple of the Angelic Doctor. The solidity of the matter is not rendered distasteful through want of beautiful and artistic form. It is dedicated to the pupils of the schools of B. Albert the Great, Laplace, and Lacordaire, the students of the College of Arcueil.

Many pages remind us of Lacordaire, and we can conceive of nothing more suitable to young men in colleges and outside. The translation of this work into our own language goes towards the filling up of a great void. The dearth of such works in English is a great misfortune.

The author first treats of the state of belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, and then goes on to show the disastrous consequences flowing from the denial of the divinity of Our Lord; but he does not stop at this; he analyses with accurate and pitiless logic the worth of negative criticism. The fourth chapter, entitled, "Reasons for the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ," is, in our opinion, the best in the book. It is written with an intensity of conviction and a truly Catholic breadth of view that is not so very common in these days. In the following chapters the work of the testimony of Jesus Christ, the difficulties inherent to the act of faith, the seven words of Jesus Christ, are dealt with in a masterly manner. The work closes with a most practical chapter on the *means* for believing in the Divinity of Christ. We recommend it most heartily to those who wish to render an account of the faith that is in them.

F. D.

A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation.

By M. Creighton, D.D. Oxon. and Cam., Lord Bishop of Peterborough. Vol. V. The German Revolt, 1517-1527. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

LOVERS of history will be glad to find that the promotion of Professor Creighton to the see of Peterborough has not compelled him to lay aside his literary labours. And those who remember how the earlier volumes were welcomed in these pages by the late Cardinal Manning, will naturally turn with some interest to this fresh instalment of the "History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation." The interest is further enhanced by the fact that the present volume deals with the critical years which saw the rise of Martin Luther and the first outbreak of open revolt against the Holy See. How is this crisis treated in a work which Cardinal Manning accounted the "fairest and most solid history of the mediæval Church that we have yet seen from any hand that is not Catholic"? (DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1887, p. 430). Does the writer still display that "accuracy in dealing with ecclesiastical matters" and that "calm judicial discernment" which the same eminent critic was glad to recognise in the earlier volumes? This is a question we had rather not answer with a plain unqualified yes or no. We must be mindful here of the warning that

*"quegli è tra gli stolti bene abasso
Che senza distinzione afferma o niega."*

On the one hand, the book before us bears tokens of much painstaking research and careful examination of original documents, and the results are clearly and accurately set before us. And, needless to say, the author speaks throughout in the spirit of a true historian, not as a partisan. These merits are more marked in those portions of the work in which the history is free from the disturbing element of theological controversy. Thus, in the opening chapter, we are given an admirable sketch of the leading German humanists, a series of portraits drawn by a few slight but skilful touches. The distinction which the writer makes between the humanism of Italy and that of Germany is doubtless well founded; but it must not be pressed too far. There is a better and more serious element in the Italian movement as well as in the North. Thus, to take an instance, even the pleasing picture of Hegius may yield to that of Vittorino da Feltre, so agreeably drawn for us in Dr. Pastor's pages. After marshalling the chief humanists before us, the author goes on to tell the story of the Reuchlin struggle, and the celebrated satire to which it gave rise. His sympathies are naturally to some extent

with the champions of the new learning, but he is conspicuously fair to the theologians and schoolmen who were ranged against them, and does justice to the merits of the Catholic scholar Ortwin Gratius. This chapter is enlivened by an account of the satiric "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*," which purported to be letters from friends and disciples of Gratius asking ridiculous questions in still more ridiculous language. As our author well says, the satire was designed to create the impression that the party of monks and theologians was a "stupid party," and in this object it succeeded only too well. But unfortunately, as too often happens, the shaft of ridicule was touched with the poison of calumny. We are given some amusing specimens of the boisterous buffoonery of the "*Obscure Men*," and a flagrant instance of their remarkable epistolary style. Perhaps a still more laughable sample might have been found in one of the last letters, where Petrus Zepfeliuss sets forth his new method of teaching Latin grammar, and consults his correspondent on some puzzling syllogisms, *e.g.*, "*Asinus habet pedem, tu habes pedem, ergo tu es asinus. Ego puto distinguendum esse inter pedem rationalem et irrationalem.*" Who was the author of this singular satire? The doubtful honour is commonly claimed for Hutten. Thus Heine sings of Köln in his "*Deutschland*":

"Hier haben die Dunkelmänner geherrscht
Die Ulrich von Hutten beschrieben."

But our author is probably right in thinking that Hutten's work is mainly confined to the second part, and ascribing most of the first book to Crotus Rubianus. He does not mention the fact that the last-named scholar eventually broke away from the party of the Reformers; but perhaps we shall hear of him again in the later volumes. Bishop Creighton is justly severe on the calumnies introduced into the satire; but he probably regards the scholastic Latin as fair game for burlesque. It is to be feared, however, that many who ridicule this much maligned language exaggerate its faults and know nothing of its real merits. "*Das Latein ist sehr barbarisch, aber zur philosophischen bestimmtheit gut geeignet.*" Such is Hegel's pithy comment on the language of Scotus, and the praise is, to say the least, as true as the blame. Perhaps the most effective part of the whole book is the chapter which tells the story of the sack of Rome. It is certainly a very powerful and painful picture. Not that the author dwells in detail on the horrors of the scene; his narrative of the acts of rapine and outrage fills little more than a page. But before this he has told us of the troubles in the army of Bourbon, the lack of pay, the consequent mutiny, the need of

satisfying the soldiers at the expense of the enemy, and the untimely death of the only commander who had any control over the mixed and mutinous multitude who were let loose on the "most cultivated population in the world." After this, little is needed to make us feel the terrors of the scene that followed.

All this is pure history, and our author is clearly a master of the historian's art. But when we turn to the pages which tell of Luther's revolt, the ground is by no means so secure. Here questions of fact are apt to be obscured by questions of doctrine, and even an honest and painstaking historian is in some sense at the mercy of his theology. Mr. Ruskin tells us somewhere that he read the "Revolt of Islam" without being able to make out "who revolted against what." It is a far cry from Shelley to Luther. But it is perhaps not strange, if some who would fain understand the troubled times of the "German Revolt," find themselves in a like hopeless case. What was that against which the Reformers really revolted, and what manner of men were they who led the revolution? These are questions for which our author—*pace illius*—has hardly found an adequate answer. Let us not be misunderstood. Here as elsewhere he shows his accustomed fairness. Here as elsewhere, he is careful to conduct his authorities, and if he is treating of Catholic doctrines he betakes himself to St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure. His Luther is neither the legendary figure dear to devout Protestants, nor painted as black at some of our own writers would fain paint him. Nevertheless there are some important factors both in the Catholic doctrine and in Luther's revolt against it, that have somehow escaped his industrious research. And, as a consequence of this defective evidence, certainly not from any lack of fairness or candour in the writer himself, the story he tells us can hardly be accepted as a faithful picture of the Lutheran revolution.

Although the author is not carried away by his admiration for Luther, he seems to us to treat him far too much as a reformer seeking to free the Church from corrupt practices and abuses. Now we have no wish to deny that there was room for reform, or that a desire to remove scandals and abuses was an important factor in the Reformation movement; but there are surely factors which must not be left out of sight. In most countries, as Schiller frankly allows, the religious movement was helped by very worldly passions. In Germany it was jealousy of the House of Austria, in Holland it was hatred of Spain and fear of the Inquisition, "in Sweden Gustavus Wasa destroyed a dangerous conspiracy together with the old religion, and on the ruin of the same Church Elizabeth of England made fast her shaking throne."—"Geschichte der Unruhen in

Frankreich." And what he says of nations and their sovereigns may be applied to the case of individual reformers. Without claiming to judge the motives of his heart or to say how far he may have been swayed by unworthy passions, we cannot forget that as a matter of fact, Luther took a course which flattered his ambition and enabled him to gratify his desire for pleasures. But besides these two extremes—the desire of reform and the “very worldly passions”—there is at least one other powerful force at work, in some sense the most important of them all—the presence of a new doctrine, perhaps dimly seen in some of the German mystics, but writ large and clear in Luther’s “justification by faith alone.” And it is the significance of this factor in the revolt which is most strangely missed by the author of the present volume. According to his view it would seem that there was little in Luther’s theses at variance with Catholic doctrine. He did but seek to remove abuses and claimed the right to discuss what was really an open question; but the liberty allowed to others was denied to him, because the attack on Indulgences would interfere with the Papal finances! Such, if we mistake not, is our author’s view of the matter. Yet curiously enough the very passages which he cites himself might suffice to show that Luther was claiming something far beyond the liberty enjoyed by the scholastic disputants, he was calling in question that which they were content to take as the sure foundation of their arguments and theories, the practice of Holy Church herself. There can be little doubt that even before his famous onslaught on Indulgences, he had got hold of a principle at variance with Catholic theology. There are some places where our author almost seems to feel the deep divergence of Luther from Catholic ideals and the principle of authority in the Church. But when he comes to criticise the Pope’s action he loses the clue. We are not concerned to defend the wisdom of all that was done at that time. We may agree with Cardinal Pallavicino in regretting that Luther’s chief antagonist was appointed to publish the bull of condemnation. But whatever might have been done to soften the blow, the Holy See must needs have condemned the new doctrines of the reformer. To attempt a compromise by imposing silence on all parties, would have been nothing less than a betrayal of the truth. Even those who regard the Papacy as a merely human institution might see that such a false peace could only end in disaster.

Besides what we must consider this unsatisfactory treatment of the Lutheran movement, the picture of the contemporary Church is a little too gloomy. It is true that any faithful story of this period must needs contain much that is painful reading, and our author is

not one of those who bring false charges, or besmirch the characters of good men. We do not complain of the accuracy with which he reproduces the darker hues of his landscape; but we wish he could have given us more of the light that relieves them. Some Catholic readers may find comfort in looking onward to the dawn of brighter days in the Tridentine reform. But there is no need to thus "fore-count the years." The living forces to which we owe that true reformation were already there and at work. Our author has given us a passing glimpse of the good work done in Spain, but perhaps not many of his readers will know how much more remains untold. Already the doctors of Salamanca were preparing the golden age of Spanish theology, and the life of Thomas of Villanova was anticipating all that Trent could teach of the bishop's duties. And he was by no means the only saint raised up in that hour of trouble. While Germany was shaken by the Lutheran revolt, and Rome itself was the prey of Bourbon's lawless soldiery, S. Cajetan was engaged in founding the Theatine Order, and Ignatius of Loyola had already laid aside his sword to enlist in a nobler army. Teresa of Avila had already felt her call to religion, and another destined Saint, Camillus of Lellis, was one of the soldiers led to the sack of Rome. Happily the Church then, as ever, had in her ranks many worthier sons than the ambitious prelates and intriguing statesmen who fill so large a place in these brilliant pages.

We must not omit to mention the documentary evidence which our author gives in an appendix, taken from Italian manuscripts preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. By far the most valuable and interesting of these fragments is a long extract from the diary of Marcello Alberino, who was present in his boyhood at the sack of Rome, and told the story in his later years for the benefit of his children. His account of the aimless vacillating conduct of the Roman leaders is singularly graphic, and the sad tale of his own and his father's captivity is told with touching simplicity. Bishop Creighton has surely done well in rescuing this narrative from undeserved oblivion.

W. H. K.

Life after Death ; or, Reason and Revelation on the Immortality of the Soul. By Rev. JOHN S. VAUGHAN. B. F. Laslett & Co., 245 Brompton Road, S.W.; R. W. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster Row, E.C.; M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin. 1895. Pp. xxiii.-219. Price 1s. 6d. or 2s.

AT one time the writings of Bellarmine might well have been regarded as an arsenal containing all the weapons needed for religious polemics. But Bellarmine alone will not suffice at the present day. Bellarmine wrote against antagonists who accepted the divine authorship of the Scriptures. But Protestantism, which at first had taken as its war-cry, "The Bible and nothing but the Bible," before long learnt to say, "Not the Bible, and anything but the Bible." Protestantism had not touched the bottom even yet. It had rejected the authority of the Church. It had rejected also the authority of the Scriptures. But there still remained the authority of reason. Reason was substituted for faith, and, for a time, its authority was recognised as paramount and supreme. Then came Kant to discredit and vilify reason, and thereby lay the foundations of agnosticism. "The critical philosophy," says Dr. Martineau, "by discrediting the prior metaphysics laid the foundation of the modern doctrine of nescience." In agnosticism we reach the third and last stage of Protestantism. Against agnosticism Bellarmine is of no avail. Of scarcely more avail are those who seek to establish the divine authority of the Scriptures. To refute agnosticism we need men who will take it as their province to vindicate the just claims of reason, and employ reason to demonstrate the *preambula fidei*. Here S. Thomas steps to the front. But the arguments of S. Thomas, as they appear in his works, are too concisely framed for the understanding of the masses. It is true that S. Thomas affirms that he is writing for novices and tyros. It is also true that he takes as his motto that word of the Apostle, "As unto little ones in Christ I gave you milk to drink, not meat." But it is equally true that the milk of S. Thomas requires a great deal of watering to suit it to the digestion of the present generation. Whoever succeeds in adding water in such nicely graduated quantity that the milk becomes at once digestible and nutritive deserves our gratitude.

Fr. Vaughan's "Life after Death" may, we think, be fairly regarded as a successful attempt in this direction. Among the propositions laid down by the Congregation of the Index in opposition to Traditionalism, which in its depreciation of reason might well be considered an offshoot of Kantism, was the following: "Reasoning can prove with certainty the existence of God, the spirituality of the

soul, and the freedom of the will." Fr. Vaughan, in the work before us, establishes these *præambula fidei* which are identical in terms, though not at all in sense, with the postulates of Kant's "practical reason." Of the existence of God and the spirituality of the soul Fr. Vaughan treats *ex professo*. The freedom of the will he does not directly prove, but he establishes it indirectly when he is treating of conscience and moral responsibility. Fr. Vaughan's subject is obviously interesting, his style is popular, his reasoning is sound and his illustrations are particularly happy. "Life after Death" is a thoroughly readable, and is likely to prove a very useful book. Its value is appreciably increased by the thoughtful preface contributed by Canon Moyes.

W. G.

Christianity and the Roman Government. A Study in Imperial Administration. By E. G. HARDY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

IN the present volume, the early persecutions are treated under a new aspect. The author looks at the question from the standpoint of the Roman rulers, and endeavours to explain the principles on which they acted in their dealings with their Christian subjects. In a question where much is necessarily a matter of conjecture, there is room for considerable difference of opinion, and some readers will be unable to agree in all the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Hardy. But no one can read this careful and instructive study in imperial administration without feeling that the writer has at any rate given a clear and consistent interpretation of the course taken by the Roman Government. After examining the general attitude of the Republic to the religions of its subject nations, and showing how the policy of toleration was restricted by certain natural and definite limits, the author devotes a separate section to the special treatment of Judaism. Going on to the fresh problem presented by the appearance of Christianity, he shows how the Christians were at first regarded as a class of the Jews, and so shared the special immunity which the latter enjoyed. But when the new religion was seen to be something distinct from Judaism, appealing to all races, essentially subversive of the established polytheism, and involving a "social revolution," the Roman state gradually assumed an attitude of hostility. As for the form taken by the persecution, our author finds the key in the classic texts of Tacitus and Pliny. The action of Nero "had brought the Christians of Rome face to face with the police administration of the city, and enough had been then

discovered to show that their principles contained elements incompatible with absolute obedience to the state," p. 100. And he considers that Christianity "by virtue of its intrinsic disobedience" was "a criminal offence, but in the eyes of the police administration, not of the law." What happened in Rome under Nero would happen from other accidental circumstances in the provinces, and the Christians would be punished on the same grounds. But the actual persecutions would have a local origin in each case, and the central authority would rather restrain them than provoke them, as we see in the case of Pliny and Trajan. General systematic persecutions initiated by the emperors only begin with the reign of Decius. Whatever may be thought of this view adopted by Mr. Hardy—and there is a good deal to be said in its defence—he is surely mistaken in his explanation of the change in policy supposed to have been inaugurated by Decius. According to his view it was only in that day that "there came a time when the scattered communities of Christians cemented their ideal unity of belief by a system of common organisation, out of which emerged the Catholic Church, an organised body," &c. (p. 163). It is likely enough that the existence of the Church as an organised body was then first felt by the State and filled it with a new sense of danger. But if we read the early records rightly, and combine their scattered notices, we shall find tokens of an organised unity in the first days of the Christian era. W. H. K.

Some Aspects of Disestablishment. Essays by Clergymen of the Church of England. Edited by H. C. SHUTTLEWORTH, M.A., Rector of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. London: A. D. Innes & Co. 1894.

THE idea of a volume of independent essays treating the same subject under so many different aspects is certainly a happy one. And it might be applied with advantage to other popular questions besides that of Disestablishment. It would seem, indeed, that this method of discussing the leading topics of the day has already been practised for some time by the lecturers of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. We are not told, however, what questions have so far been treated in this fashion, or whether any similar volumes of essays have been given to the public. The effect of the present work is naturally something very unlike that of the one-sided handbooks occasionally put forth by the advocates or opponents of some party measure. On the other hand it is distinguished from the more familiar debates or controversial correspondences by the fact that each essayist holds on

his own course, serenely unconscious of all that is said by his companions. It might seem at first sight that the arguments for and against Disestablishment were by this time somewhat threadbare, so that a reader could hardly hope to find much to awaken his interest in a volume devoted to that familiar theme. At the same time, the fact that all the writers are clergymen of the Established Church might naturally be expected to make the discussion somewhat one-sided, and prevent the case for Disestablishment from being treated with the vigour and freedom so congenial to its Nonconformist advocates. But such forebodings are certainly falsified in the event. With scarce an exception the essays in the present volume are remarkable for their freshness and originality; and no dissenting demagogue could well be more thoroughgoing or more outspoken than the Vicar of Hexton, who states "The Case for Disestablishment." If that case suffers in his hands, it can only be due to the indiscreet ardour of his attack. His racy account of the character of the average parson is more likely to offend his opponents than to advance his own cause. In one passage he has anticipated a recent remark of Lord Rosebery, that the Church property had been originally taken from the Roman Catholics, and he suggests that it should be restored with compound interest, if the State has no right to touch it. But to our thinking the ablest and most original of these essays is that on "Disestablishment and Socialism," by the Rev. P. Dearmer. In this the old question is put in an entirely new light by being treated from a fresh standpoint. Needless to say there are many things in this book on which a Catholic is compelled to differ from the writers, whatever his views on the main question may chance to be.

W. H. K.

Holy Matrimony. A Treatise on the Divine Laws of Marriage. By OSCAR D. WATKINS, M.A., a Senior Chaplain on Her Majesty's Bengal Establishment. London: Rivington, Percival & Co., King Street, Covent Garden. 1895. Pp. 717.

MR. WATKINS is a writer of ability and has read extensively on his subject. The chapter entitled "Of the Indissolubility of Christian Marriage and of Divorce" contains much that is admirable. But unfortunately there is much to offend in the chapter entitled "Of the Re-Marriage of Converts and of Mixed Marriages." Here the author shows a bias against the Church which has a demoralising effect upon his critical faculty. He censures Pope Clement IX. for granting dispensations permitting certain baptized persons to marry

persons unbaptized. He quotes, as though in opposition to Pope Clement, the declaration of Benedict XIV. to the effect that "the custom of the Church had for centuries regarded such marriages as null." But what has become null by custom stands on the same footing with that which has become null by law. Consequently the supreme legislator can remove the nullity in the one case as in the other. Mr. Watkins's reasoning is not merely faulty, but it further has the appearance of being dishonest, for, after the words just quoted, he proceeds to say, "If they are null in their essential character, the modern action of the Popes in granting dispensation cannot count for much." This looks very much like loading the dice. Benedict XIV. did not say that such marriages were null in *their essential character*. He only declared that they were and had for centuries been regarded by the custom of the Church as null. To score a point by attributing to your authority what he had no intention of saying is scarcely to be commended for honesty. Once again Mr. Watkins attempts to set the Church against the Church. The Church, in certain circumstances, allows a divorce *a vinculo* from the pagan partner to a convert to Christianity. But the Church will not allow a similar divorce to a Christian who with a dispensation has married an unbaptized person even though similar circumstances should arise. Mr. Watkins infers from this that "the recent practice of the Roman Catholic Church is indeed hopelessly involved in contradictions." Mr. Watkins has written at some length on the "Pauline privilege." If he brings the "Pauline privilege" to bear upon the present matter, the supposed contradictions will vanish. The Church recognises the divorce *a vinculo* in the former case, by virtue of the "Pauline privilege." But there is no "Pauline privilege" to justify a divorce *a vinculo* in the latter case. By granting a divorce *quoad torum et cohabitationem*, the Church sufficiently safeguards the faith of the Christian partner. Mr. Watkins quotes at length a declaration of Pope Benedict XIV., removing the clandestinity impediment with respect to certain of the mixed marriages of Catholics and baptized heretics, as though it were nothing more than an admission, and an admission now made for the first time by the Church, that heretics could contract Christian marriage. "Heretics are therefore," he cheerfully infers, "held to be capable of Christian marriage." We regret to find such blots as these in a work of undoubted ability.

Centenary Record of Stonyhurst College. Its Life beyond the Seas, 1592-1794 ; and on English soil, 1794-1894. By the Rev. JOHN GERARD, S.J. Belfast : Marcus Ward & Co. 1895-

THE most loyal and exacting of Old Stonyhurst Boys can find no fault with this volume. It is sumptuously printed, illustrated and bound, and the letterpress is by Father Gerard. This in itself is its strongest recommendation. The occasion was a great one. Father Gerard has proved equal to it. Those who were privileged to be among the guests at the centenary celebration longed for a record, full and complete, of "The Old College of the Eagle Towers." Those whose misfortune it was to be absent will find within these pages comforting solace in the conviction they bring that *alma mater* is indeed flourishing and fit for its journey to the second centenary. The "old boy" will live his schooldays over again as he fondly turns the leaves, quickly recognising old places (greeting the prefect's room with a grim smile) and wondering at the new. The book contains much that will be new to the oldest of old boys and to the youngest of new. With both it will be a proud possession. The former will turn to it for old and treasured memories, the latter will read with pride and no little envy of those days at Bruges, when the boys rose in riot and defied police, gendarmes, and civil potentates, who sought to deprive them of their Jesuit Fathers.

The book is full of historical matter of interest to the general reader, it abounds with incidents, anecdotes of men, things and places. The following is not the least amusing. Writing of the great academies of 1795 (p. 103), Father Gerard says :

It is related that on this occasion, there being as usual a dance as part of the programme, and one of the boys appointed for this exercise not appearing, a young lady from the audience stepped forth and offered to take his place, in consequence of which ladies were not afterwards invited on such occasions, till the opening of the recent academy room in 1881.

A long banishment for so trivial an indiscretion.

A. O.

Un Royaume Polynésien. Par G. SAUVIN. Paris : Librairie Plon. 1893.

THE author has here combined with the record of his own experiences a very clear and succinct account of the past and present of Hawaii, his picture of which is all the more graphic because not overlaid with florid description. Among many interesting

chapters, that on the leper settlement on Molokai is perhaps the most instructive, and among other novel traits there set down is the fact that riding constitutes one of the chief amusements of those interned there, and that eight hundred horses are kept for their use. Father Damien's successor, Father Vandelin, on being congratulated on his self-devotion, repudiated all claim to admiration, declaring that he was no hero, but simply a priest sent by his superior, and trying to do his duty without troubling himself about the future, which is in the hands of Providence. The author rightly asks what courage is comparable to this. He is assisted by a Catholic layman, who has resided there for six years in unostentatious devotion to the same cause. As he shrinks from all publicity his existence is scarcely known, and he figures on the author's pages only as "M.D." Save that he was a captain in the army his past history is unknown. Having received the necessary authorisation to visit the leper settlement, he arrived one day, and has refused all offers of any other employment, leading the life of an anchorite, and devoting himself entirely to work in the hospital and in the boys' school. In the latter his help is invaluable in keeping order in an unruly flock, and the sisters say they do not know what they would do without him.

Exploration de la Region du Grand Lac des Ours. Par
EMILE PETITOT. Paris: Tequi. 1893.

THE well-known missionary author and explorer describes in this volume a series of apostolic wanderings among the Dené and other Indians in the extreme north-west of Canada. To the geography of this wild and desolate region, intersected by the Arctic circle, he has largely contributed by his explorations of the contours of the Great Bear Lake and his discovery of the sources of the Anderson River, as well as some new lakes, on one of which the Indians have bestowed his name. His works on ethnology, geography, language and mythology form in themselves a respectable library, comprising already thirty-five separate volumes, to which two more are about to be added. His journeys were principally made on dog-sledges, with one or two Indian guides, under such circumstances of hardship as can easily be imagined; and in his visits to the camps of his scattered flocks in the wilderness, his knowledge of their life and habits enabled him to exercise a great and salutary influence over them. He tells many tragic tales of crime and not a few of Christian heroism on the part of these savages, and records many of their curious beliefs.

Among these is the legend that their wastes were once inhabited by a numerous population now transformed into trees and animals, but sometimes seen by night to resume their human forms. Among his singular experiences was that of having his sledge followed over the frozen surface of the lake by an army of reindeer, fascinated by the sound of the bells on the collars of the dogs. Another strange fact in natural history is that this sheet of fresh water abounds in herrings, which are found of uniform size, increasing during a cycle of three years. Thus in 1866 they measured but fifteen centimetres in length, the following year twenty, and the third year from twenty-five to twenty-eight, while the fourth year they were found again of the same size as in the first of the series. Why, he asks, are not the sizes found mixed, and what becomes of the full-grown fish in the fourth year. If they returned to the Arctic Ocean they would be caught in the Mackenzie, which is not the case. Thirty to forty were easily caught in an hour on the Great Bear Lake by making holes in the ice and twitching them out with a sort of three-pronged fork.

Voyages de Montesquieu. Publiés par le Baron ALBERT DE MONTESQUIEU. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1894.

THE archives of the Chateau of La Brède have furnished the manuscripts here for the first time given to the world by the present representative of their author. The hurriedly recorded impressions of a prolonged tour in Europe, they have the spontaneity of such improvised jottings, while the careful editing they have received, and the fulness of the explanatory preface and notes, give them coherence and intelligibility. Many of the judgments of the writer on men and things are epigrammatic in their shrewdness, like that prompted by his sojourn in Piedmont. "I would not for anything," he says, "be one of the subjects of these small princes! They know all you do; they have you always under their eyes; can estimate your income to a penny; and if it be large, find means of making you spend it. They will send you commissaries to make you lay down in grass what you have under vines. It is much better to be swamped in the dominions of a powerful master." His caustic description of the Genoese nobility also deserves to be quoted: "You see a superb mansion, and in it but one old servant-woman who spins. To invite any one to a meal is in Genoa an unheard-of thing. These splendid palaces up the third floor are merely warehouses for merchandise. All trade, and the Doge is the leading merchant.

These conditions create at once the meanest and the vainest class in the world." Of Turin he says, "It is small and well-built; the handsomest village in the world." But while his personal observations are interesting as the expression of an acute and brilliant mind, it must be remembered that these hasty notes, in which he took down indiscriminately all that came to his ears on the spot, have no pretensions to historical accuracy, and may represent only the gossip of a particular clique in society. Thus the incorrectness of his hearsay version of Florentine history shows how little credit need be given to his account of the state of Rome under Benedict XIII. or other matters connected with ecclesiastical affairs in Italy.

New Testament Theology. By Dr. WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG, Professor of Theology at Halle. Translated by Rev. NEIL BUCHANAN. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 941.

PROFESSOR BEYSCHLAG calls himself a Protestant, and states that a combination of scientific and practical labour in the service of the Protestant Church has been the soul of his active life. Professor Beyschlag may be a Protestant, but he is certainly not a Christian. He is a Unitarian, with, however, a fuller belief in the preternatural and the supernatural than usually accompanies the profession of Unitarianism. Our author maintains that the question as to the original teaching of Jesus and His Apostles has never been entirely set at rest in the course of the Christian centuries; that not even Protestant Christendom can lay claim to the consciousness of being saturated with the original teaching of Christ without addition or diminution. Calvin and Melancthon constructed their dogmatic textbooks immediately upon the Scriptures, especially upon the Epistles of St. Paul, but their successors based their dogmatic works upon the creeds of the Church, contenting themselves with confirming the doctrines thence deduced with biblical "*dicta probantia*," proof passages taken without distinction from different parts of Scripture, and torn out of the connection to which they belonged.

Professor Beyschlag has then no resource but to search the Scriptures for himself, and this he does with such results as will now appear. Jesus Christ is no more than a mere man who has a special mission from God to his fellow-men. We need not mention the arguments which the professor employs in support of this proposition. They are the arguments commonly employed by Socinian writers. The death of Our Lord was not a propitiatory sacrifice. It was an act of

incomparable obedience to the Father and of love for His fellow-men ; at once the perfecting of His own character and an everlasting example for His brethren. The Resurrection was, however, a true Resurrection. "It is wasted effort trying to explain the resurrection on purely subjective, psychological, or pathological grounds. Only as a truly objective supernatural event does it take its place in the historical and psychological conditions of the time." The Ascension into Heaven too was a real Ascension. But the descent of the Holy Spirit, and His mission upon earth, is nothing more than the spiritual reunion of the faithful with Jesus. "The notion of the Holy Spirit as a third divine personality—a personality which is miraculously poured out and bestowed—is one of the most disastrous importations into the Holy Scriptures." Jesus founded no hierarchical Church. All the members of His Church were to stand on a footing of absolute equality. If He send the Twelve to preach, He later sent the Seventy—that is to say, every one at His disposal. And when He said, "What I tell you in the darkness, that speak in the light, and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the house tops," the words were addressed to all that believed in Him. Professor Beyschlag, indeed, admits that if there were such a thing as "judicial authority" in the Church of Christ, then undoubtedly the interpretation which the Catholic Church gives to the words of Our Lord to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18, 19) would have to be accepted as the true one. But there is no judicial authority, he contends, and therefore no Papacy in the Church of Christ. All the members of the Church are essentially equal. The celestial hierarchy vanishes as completely, in Professor Beyschlag's system, as the ecclesiastical. Angels are not persons, but personifications, while, as to the nether hierarchy, Satan is but a general name for evil whether in the world of nature or in the world of history. Such is as full an account as we can give in a short notice of the results of Professor Beyschlag's searching of the Scriptures. His work is but another addition to the multitudinous Protestant attempts to discover the genuine teaching of Christ and His Apostles without the aid of an infallible teacher.

La Réaction contre le Positivisme. Par M. l'Abbé DE BROGLIE.
Paris : Librairie Plon, Rue Garancière, 10. 1894. Pp. 297.

ACCORDING to the hierarch of Positivism, Auguste Comte, humanity passes through three successive stages: the theological, in which it is governed by religious beliefs and traditions; the metaphysical, in which religious beliefs are replaced by philosophical

theories; and the positive state, in which the worthlessness of religious beliefs and metaphysical reasonings having been demonstrated, attention is directed exclusively to experimental facts and the general laws under which they order themselves. Humanity, according to Comte, has passed through the first two stages, and the era of the third stage is now dawning. It is told, if we remember, rightly, of Comte, that his bookshelves were always empty, and that when attention was on one occasion called to this by a friend, Comte explained that when he wanted a book he wrote one. Whether this anecdote be true or not, it would seem clear that any historical works he possessed he must have written for himself. Granting and insisting as we do that religious belief preceded metaphysics in the history of mankind, we hold that there is no fact of history more incontrovertible than the fact that metaphysics never have ousted religious belief; neither the metaphysics of India nor those of Greece and Rome. When were metaphysics so keenly studied as in the Middle Ages? And yet those ages were pre-eminently the ages of religious faith. The truth is, that there exists and must exist a close connection between metaphysics and religion. Religion, indeed, may stand without metaphysics, but metaphysics invariably lead to religion; to quote the words of an eminent English Positivist, "You cannot make the slightest concession to metaphysics without ending in a theology." Then again, though metaphysics have unfortunately fallen into an undeserved contempt in England, yet religion, which, according to Comte's theory ought to have been buried finally centuries ago under the advancing waves of metaphysics, is still in vigorous condition in this country. Comte's value, then, is slight whether as historian of the past or observer of the present. Is he of greater worth as prophet of the future? Is experimental science to supersede all other science and all religious beliefs? Are there indications at the present day that this is likely to come to pass? Is it so much as possible that it should ever come to pass? These are the questions to which M. l'Abbé de Broglie addresses himself in his book "*La Réaction contre le Positivisme*," and to all who desire to learn the utter inability of Positivism to answer the questions which arise and must arise in human thought, and to satisfy the aspirations which arise and must arise in the human heart, we recommend this lucid, logical, eloquent little treatise.

S.S. Léon XIII. Paroles de Jubilé, discours prononcés par S.S. Léon XIII. a l'occasion du cinquantenaire de sa consécration épiscopale, suivis de l'Encyclique: "*Praeclara Gratulationis*," recueillis et expliqués par un pèlerin. Paris: P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Éditeur 10, Rue Cassette, 10. Pp. 336.

AS we remember, the Golden Episcopal Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. was celebrated by pilgrimages to the Pontifical Throne from every part of the world. The discourses pronounced by the Holy Father on occasion of the various pilgrimages are especially valuable inasmuch as they contain and set forth with clearness the principles which have guided his career as successor of St. Peter. These discourses are to be found in their entirety in the little book before us. Such as were delivered in Latin appear here in their original form and also in a French translation. The congratulatory messages of the various sovereigns with the replies of the Holy Father are also recorded; while the last chapter contains in Latin and in French the Jubilee Encyclical, "*Praeclara Gratulationis*."

William Laud. By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D., Fellow, Tutor, Precentor, and Librarian of St. John Baptist College, Oxford, and Examiner in the Honour School of Modern History.

MR. HUTTON'S "*Life of Laud*," the last of the three which have been published within the last year or so, came out, very opportunely, about the time of the Laudian Exhibition, at which the most interesting objects were furnished by the author and are usually under his own guardianship at St. John's College. This biography is exceedingly well written; the matter is admirably selected, admirably arranged, and admirably abridged; for abridgement was very necessary, as well as very difficult, in a book which was to contain so much in so limited a space. Apart from its religious tone, there can be little doubt that this is the best "*Life of Laud*" which has yet appeared; and even of that religious tone we have a good word to say—namely, that, while the author does not hesitate to express his opinions freely on the points of difference between Anglicanism and Catholicism, he shows none of that intense bitterness, antagonism, and hatred towards the Church which deforms the writings of so many apologists of the English ecclesiastical Establishment. Of course, it may be that Catholics, on their part, when attacking Anglicanism do not always sufficiently remember that, right as it is to hate heresy, there is nothing wrong in entertaining kindly feelings towards unwitting heretics; but, be that as it

may, it is a pleasure to find an Anglican writing without any personal animosity towards the Church of God. Our last words bring forcibly before our minds the difficulty experienced by Catholics as well as by Anglicans in reviewing, and even in reading, English books or journals dealing with the controversy that divides them, when written by their opponents; for their very language is different, or, if the words are the same, they have totally different significations. Such expressions on our side as "the Church of God," and "*the Church*," for our own Church, our exclusive use of the word "Catholic," and our application of the word "Protestant," even to the most exalted of Ritualists, probably awaken much the same sensations of half-amusement and half-vexation in the hearts and minds of Anglicans as are produced in those of Catholics by reading in a book like Mr. Hutton's of Laud's preserving "to the Church of England" her "Catholicity;" of the dispute "between the rigid Roman definition and the reverent Catholic faith;" of Laud's having trod "in the footsteps of the primitive and historic Church," or that "Laud never consciously departed from the standards of the English, or of the Universal, Church." How would such a book as Mr. Hutton's appear to us; how would our own books upon Anglicanism appear to Anglicans, if certain non-assumptive terms could be agreed upon by both sides and substituted for those which are disputed? Without attempting to answer this question, we may observe that if a Catholic reader of Mr. Hutton's "Life of Laud" will suppose the words "what we Anglicans call" before "Catholic," "primitive" and so on; and if he will substitute "Catholic" for "Roman" wherever this word occurs in a religious sense, he will be able to peruse that book with pleasure and profit, and, finally, to put it down with very kindly feelings towards its author. Prot—we mean members of the Church of England, as by law established, are welcome to take an equivalent liberty with our books, provided they will but give them a fair and an attentive reading.

It may appear that we have criticised the matter of Mr. Hutton's book scarcely at all. We think we cannot review that matter better than by saying that it consists entirely of a careful and a readable statement of the fortunes, the misfortunes, and the actions of its subject, which is much more than can be said for a great many biographies. Of the deep study, the general learning, the style, the tone, and the temper exhibited in this work, there can be, or at least ought to be, but one opinion, and we hope to have the pleasure of reading other monographs of equal ability from the same pen. Honest endeavours to tell the truth in history are to be heartily welcomed from whatever quarter they may come.

T. L.

Histoire de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première Supérieure du Monastère des Ursulines de Québec.
Par l'Abbé LEON CHAPOT. Two volumes. Paris: Ch. Pous-sielgue. 1892.

IN May 1639 a band of devoted women sailed from Dieppe for Canada, in order to devote themselves to the conversion of the Indians. Their leader, who found the means to defray the expenses of the enterprise, was the celebrated Madame de la Peltrie. The Superior of the six Ursuline nuns, who formed the main body of the emigrants, was Mother Mary of the Incarnation, of the Ursulines of Tours, who had been called in the world Madame Martin. The great Ursuline establishment in Donnacona Street, Quebec, is the house that was founded by this saintly woman, whose life and gifts are there devoutly held in remembrance. There have been several biographies of one who has the distinction of being the first religious woman to land in North America; but, as the Abbé Chapot says, they are hardly known in Europe. Accordingly, he has undertaken the work afresh, and the result is these two handsome volumes. We have the advantage, in Mère Marie's case, of possessing a very large store of materials for her history. These consist, first, of copious notes in her own hand, written under the direction of her spiritual advisers, relating to her most marvellous interior life, and, next, of a very full biography of herself by her own son, Dom Martin, of the Maurist Benedictines, who himself died at Marmontiers in the odour of sanctity. The Abbé Chapot has wisely taken Dom Martin's work as the basis of his own; but has entirely altered its form and arrangement. In that great outburst of spiritual life which distinguished the seventeenth century in France, and which may be traced to the influence of St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane Frances on the one hand, and of St. Theresa and the Spanish mystics on the other, the story of this venerable foundress is a most interesting and edifying episode. The first beginnings of the institute in Canada are described with much animation; and a contrast might be drawn between the heroic efforts of the Jesuit Fathers and Ursuline nuns to convert the aborigines, and the very different methods of the English sectaries who were at that very moment pouring themselves upon the shores of the New England States. The book concludes with the recital of a number of striking miracles, stated to be owing to the intercession of Mère Marie. It was one of the last acts of Pope Pius IX. to sanction the introduction of the cause of her beatification.

Vie de la Révérende Mère Marie de Ste. Euphrasie Pellettier, fondatrice et première Supérieure Générale de la Congrégation de Notre Dame de Charité du Bon Pasteur d'Angers. Par M. l'Abbé H. PASQUIER. Paris : P. Lethielleux. 1894.

WHEN the Ven. Père Eudes, about the middle of the seventeenth century, established the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity for the succour of penitent women, his idea was that each house of the institute soon after its foundation should be independent of its mother-house and stand by itself. In 1834, the mother superior of the Eudist monastery of Angers, thinking that the work would have a better chance of spreading, and would be altogether more efficient if a mother-house were permitted to retain jurisdiction over its filiations, petitioned the Holy See to erect the Angers monastery into a "Généralat." With some difficulty she obtained her request, and then was founded the Congregation of the Good Shepherd, now so well known. This mother superior, Marie de Ste. Euphrasie Pellettier, was a woman of great holiness, discretion, and vigour of mind. She established, before her death in 1867, no fewer than 110 houses of the Order, and lived to see it divided into six or seven provinces. The life of such a foundress deserved to be written; and we have in these two volumes, not only a clear and interesting, if somewhat enthusiastic, narrative of her work, but also a fairly complete picture of her character and spirit. In 1888 there was published, by Messrs. Burns & Oates, a small volume in English called "Mirror of the Virtues of Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia Pellettier," with which doubtless some of our readers will be acquainted. This proves to have been in great measure taken from the present work. The religious family of Mother Pellettier are doing their best to promote the introduction of the cause of her beatification.

1. **Dictionnaire de la Bible.** Publié par F. VIGOUROUX. Fascicule vii. (Bigamie-Bythner). Paris : Letouzey et Ané, Editeurs. 1895.

2. **Carte de la Palestine, Ancienne et Moderne.** Par A. LEGENDRE. Letouzey et Ané.

WITH the seventh *fascicule* ends the first volume of the Abbé Vigouroux's new "Dictionnaire de la Bible." So far the "Dictionnaire" includes only the letters A and B; so that, if the work be continued on the same scale, as no doubt it will be, the result will be

a goodly series of volumes. We have, however, no reason to complain of that. Indeed, the Abbé Vigouroux's latest work is a monument of learning and research, and a standing refutation of the assertion, so often repeated, that the traditional Catholic view regarding the authenticity and historical character of the books of Sacred Scripture is supported only by men destitute of critical ability and knowledge.

M. Vigouroux was well-advised in having the encyclical "Providentissimus" (in Latin and French), printed at the beginning of the new work. The influence of that weighty document cannot fail to be felt in future biblical discussions; and it will be a great convenience to Catholic students to have a copy always at hand in their Bible Dictionaries.

The seventh *fascicule* contains the preface to the new work, a powerful and eloquent dissertation by the Bishop of Fréjus and Toulon. The bishop discusses therein such questions as the importance of the Bible in the Church; the change that Protestantism introduced in the use and study of the Bible; the nature of modern criticism, &c. &c. He defends the usually accepted view in the Church regarding the divine and human element in the Bible, and the nature of inspiration. Still, he writes in no narrow or small-minded way; on the contrary, he seems in favour of throwing all the light available from modern research upon the study of Sacred Scripture. We quote a few words as illustrating the bishop's point of view:

Le conflit reparait aujourd'hui sous une autre forme; il paraît d'autant plus grave qu'il s'agit d'intérêts plus sacrés. Les adversaires sont tous d'excellents chrétiens, parfaitement soumis à l'Eglise; ils n'ont d'autre but que de défendre la foi par les moyens qu'ils croient être les meilleurs. Ici encore se retrouve la distinction signalée plus haut entre autoritaires et raisonneurs; les uns qui n'étudient la Bible qu'à genoux et n'y voient que la pensée divine sans mélange humain; les autres qui pensent que ce Livre, si divin qu'il soit, n'échappe pas complètement aux conditions de composition d'un livre humain; qui, tout en étudiant aussi la Bible à genoux, se demandent si l'on peut y reconnaître des traces d'imperfections accidentelles. Laissons grande liberté aux champions de la foi. Soyons sans inquiétude, l'agitation tombera, les idées fausses disparaîtront, tout se tassera et se retrouvera en ordre (p. lvi).

A word about the map of Palestine brought out by M. Legendre. M. Legendre is a man thoroughly competent for such a task. For seventeen years he has been professor of Scripture at the *grand séminaire* at Mans; he has been an assiduous Bible student; has contributed numerous geographical articles to the new Bible Dictionary; and finally, has made a voyage to the East for the purpose of studying on the spot many disputed questions regarding the geography of

the Holy Land. The map which he has brought out will be of great value to Bible students : no expense has been spared over it ; and it will doubtless prove an immense advantage to pilgrims to the Holy Land, and to all who take an interest in Sacred History.

J. A. H.

Deuterographs—Duplicate Passages in the Old Testament.

Arranged and annotated by ROBERT B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A.
Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1894.

EVERY Bible student is aware that there is a great deal of historical matter common to the Books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand and the Books of Chronicles on the other. In the volume before us, Mr. Girdlestone has printed the parallel passages side by side ; adding many duplicate passages which occur throughout the other books of the Old Testament. "In order to exhibit the state of the two texts to the greatest advantage additions in one text as compared with the other are indicated by square brackets ; omissions by dots ; and variations by italics."

The work before us is undoubtedly a useful and important one. For there are many problems arising out of the resemblance between Kings and Chronicles which bear directly upon the mode of composition of the books of Sacred Scripture. Thus the author of Kings and the Chronicler seem to stand in much the same relation in regard to the history of the kingdom of Juda that the synoptists do in regard to the life of Jesus Christ. Light thrown upon the case of the Old Testament historians may perhaps be of assistance in the solution of the synoptist problem. Then again the annalists of the kingdoms of Juda and Israel have undoubtedly incorporated in their works much from older writers. This fact seems to give an insight into the way in which the historical books of the Old Testament were composed. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that some idea may be obtained of the fidelity with which the sacred writers as a rule adhere to the authorities upon which they rely from a comparison of the parallel passages in Kings and Chronicles. All these points—and there are many more which might have been added—are well worth careful consideration. Now Mr. Girdlestone's new volume, "Deuterographs," will be of great service to the student in the prosecution of such a study.

Mr. Girdlestone favours us with his views as to the bearing of his work on the conclusions of the higher criticism. He is disposed to the opinion "that the Chronicler grounded his work on materials

which must have been more or less contemporary with the age in which the events narrated took place;" and "that though there are variations and additions between Kings and Chronicles, the Chronicler "never seems to have departed to any considerable extent from his authorities." In reference to the way in which an examination of Kings and Chronicles affects the question of the historical and sacred authority of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges, Mr. Girdlestone comes to the following conclusions: (1) It "leads us to respect them as works of authority, composed or compiled by authors of the prophetic school;" (2) "it permits the idea, not only of the threading of documents, but also of the blending of documents into a connected whole," and that "the old documents have not materially suffered by the process;" and (3) finally it shows that "the Hebrew writers were chroniclers rather than inventors."

We conclude with the following quotation:—

The following pages will produce a shock on some minds because of the numerous textual variations which are prominently marked—and certainly the task of marking them has not been an easy or a pleasant one; but further reflection on the results attained will tend to a conviction in the reader's mind (as it certainly has done in the case of the writer) that the biblical record from Genesis onwards is trustworthy and authoritative.

J. A. H.

Meditations for all Days of the Year. By the Abbé H. HAMON. Translated from the Twenty-third Edition by Mrs. ANNE R. BENNET (*née* GLADSTONE). 5 vols. Pp. 448, 414, 434, 440, 412. New York: Benziger Bros.; London: Burns & Oates.

THE English-speaking world has been favoured with a translation of *Meditations* by the Abbé Hamon, of St. Sulpice. The work consists of five volumes of more than 400 pages each, and is handsomely brought out in excellent type and neat binding by the Benziger Brothers of New York. The translation into English from the original French is carefully executed, and the fact that the work has reached the twenty-third edition makes much comment unnecessary.

The pious author follows the liturgical year, appointing a meditation to each day, while to the end of every volume he appends a series of meditations on the principal saints whose feasts are celebrated within that division. Each meditation consists generally of two points, and is preceded by a summary meant for the evening before, which contains the divisions, resolutions, and spiritual bouquet.

Morning and evening prayers are prefixed to every volume for the convenience of those using the work. Each volume has its own index, while an extended one is attached to the last.

The Meditations are largely original and eminently practical. Although intended for priests as well as the laity, they rarely touch on the distinctive duties of the clerical state, keeping as a rule to the great practical precepts common to every Christian. Even with this restriction the zealous priest will find in them ideas he did not meet before, and he will find also the rich unction that always emanates from St. Sulpice, in which the Abbé Hamon laboured for many years. A meditation on the subject matter for the Sunday or other feast can be readily and profitably turned into a discourse which will benefit the hearers more than the usual elaborate addresses.

It is highly desirable that this work should be widely diffused, being so well calculated to effect a closer union between God and souls, as it will also bring conversion and salvation in its path.

An Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles. By His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MACEVILLY, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1895.

DR. MACEVILLY is already well known as a commentator on the writings of the New Testament. The popularity of his exposition of the Epistles and of the Gospel of St. Matthew and St. Mark is attested by the fact that the former has reached a fourth edition and the latter a third: and there is no reason to doubt that the volume on the Acts of the Apostles will be as widely patronised by the public.

The archbishop lays down in the introduction that "the chief, or rather the only object we have in view" is "to give a plain and accurate exposition of the Sacred Text for the benefit of such as may think proper to peruse it." The learned author has undoubtedly kept that end well in view throughout the work. On the title-page the commentary is said to be "critical, exegetical, doctrinal, and moral." The last three it certainly is: but perhaps we should find fault a little with the first term. The work is rather of a devotional and homiletic character; it hardly touches upon critical questions at all. Indeed the archbishop refers in one place to such discussions as those on chronology with a kind of scorn.

We think it right to say that, however desirable an accurate system of chronology may be—and what system can escape the carping criticism of the irreconcilable crew of unbelievers with whom the present world is

deluged?—the adoption or rejection of any table of chronology does not materially affect the chief, or rather the only object, we have in view (p. vii).

It seems a pity that Dr. MacEvilly did not treat introductory questions at greater length; and that he has not brought more recent archæological discoveries to bear upon the narrative of the Acts. Such discussions are not only interesting, but important in the highest degree in an age when scholarship is so widely diffused; and works of great ability, dealing in an adverse way with the books of Sacred Scripture, are so often to be found in the hands of Catholics.

A l'aide des découvertes archéologiques et surtout épigraphiques de notre siècle, nous pouvons apprécier aujourd'hui, bien mieux qu'on ne pouvait le faire autrefois, la vérité de ce tableau; nous pouvons contrôler, pour ainsi dire, page par page et ligne par ligne, les Actes des Apôtres. Le résultat de cet examen, est-il besoin de le dire, est tout à fait en leur faveur. Plus les sciences historiques progressent, plus elles rendent hommage à la véracité, à l'exactitude, à la science de S. Luc.

So writes the Abbé Vigouroux ("Le Nouveaux Test. et les Découvertes Archéologiques Modernes," p. 183); and, it seems to us, Dr. MacEvilly's new volume, valuable already, would have been rendered still more valuable if he had shown how far modern discoveries tend to confirm the historical authority of the Acts.

The volume before us will no doubt be used largely if not chiefly by priests, and that for pulpit purposes. We heartily recommend the work to them. It contains a clear exposition of the text of the Acts; we need not say that it is entirely unaffected by the prevailing "criticism" of the day; and it is brought out in a convenient and readable form, highly creditable to Messrs. Gill, the publishers.

J. A. H.

The Imitation of Christ. From the Latin of THOMAS À KEMPIS. With an Introduction by the Venerable F. W. FARRAR, D.D. And five designs by C. M. GERE. London: Methuen & Co. 1894.

IT was once our lot to see a very unpopular man, a very aspiring man, a very unwise man, and a very conceited man, take upon himself the introduction of two well-known personages, with each of whom his own acquaintance was short and slight. "We are really deeply indebted to you," said one of them to him; "but it so happens that we have been on the most intimate terms nearly all our lives."

The introduction to the most recent edition of one of the best

known of books informs us that "its ideal is one-sided and imperfect"; and that "with all its superiority to the baser elements of Romanism and monasticism, it is still too Romish and too monastic in its tone to be a sufficient guide." Why, then, instead of writing an introduction to a new edition of this dangerous and erroneous guide, did not Archdeacon Farrar write something better worth reading? Partly it seems because George Eliot has brought the book somewhat into notice by mentioning it honourably in her "*Mill on the Floss*," and partly to warn possible readers against the unhealthiness of its tone, unless counteracted by a diligent study of the works of that eminent theologian, Archdeacon Farrar. Yet, although its title is "a glaring misnomer," there is much in "*The Imitation of Christ*" that is very beautiful; "it has in it so very little taint of Romish error," and its author "stands absolutely aloof from that system of human intermeddlings and tyrannies over the freedom of the soul which is most briefly described by the word 'sacerdotalism.'" "He says not a word about human absolution or confessionals. It is as though throughout human existence he, like Newman, recognised only two supreme and self-luminous entities—the soul and God." How far either the author of "*The Imitation*" or Cardinal Newman would be likely to be pleased to have the Venerable Archdeacon Farrar as an apologist is a question into which we will not make it our business to inquire. It is an open secret, known even to "Romanists," that, as a theologian, Archdeacon Farrar is not exactly considered the Anglican equivalent of the "Angelic Doctor" by the majority of his co-religionists; and as a specimen of the spiritual and mental pretensions of such a man in condescending patronage of such a book, his introduction to "*The Imitation of Christ*" is, we are inclined to think, unique in the English language.

As to the translation, which has been talked about, written about, and even reviewed in a leading weekly Protestant journal, as if it were quite a new one and had been the work of Archdeacon Farrar, it is but fair to say that there is nothing to indicate his guilt in anything except the introduction; on the contrary, there is strong internal evidence in that introduction to show that the learned and venerable archdeacon has never even read throughout any ungarbled edition of "*The Imitation*," and that he has only written his introduction from his recollection of a few passages here and there. So far as we have examined the edition now published by Messrs. Methuen, it appears to be nothing but a reprint, word for word, of the old Protestant edition published by Messrs. Parker of Oxford many years ago—our own copy is more than twenty years old—with the

exception of some changes in punctuation and the printing of the matter in paragraphs, instead of in the form of detached sentences or verses. There is, however, this important distinction between them, that in the Oxford edition there are asterisks or reference marks to show where omissions or tamperings with the text have been indulged in, and that in most cases pretty fair translations of the excised or altered passages are given in notes at the end of the book; whereas in this new edition, with one exception, the mutilations and excisions are dishonestly unnoticed. Apparently the object of this edition is to serve as a peg whereon to hang "An Introduction by the Venerable F. W. Farrar, D.D."; or it may be that it was supposed an introduction bearing the name of a great man might help to sell a book by an inferior writer. But did we not once read, in an ancient work, that "the shadow of a great name" was not the most infallible of blessings, and was not that old treatise called the "Imitatio Christi"? The paper, type, and binding of this new edition are excellent; but the illustrations are Burnes-Jones-and-water.

Catholic and Protestant Countries Compared. By Rev. ALFRED YOUNG, Paulist. 8vo, pp. 633. Catholic Book Exchange, 120 West 60th Street, New York.

WE have read this book through with much interest from cover to cover, and consider it to be a valuable contribution to our ever-increasing stock of controversial literature. Our chief regret is that the zealous author allows himself to assume, not only the *rôle*, but the spirit and temper of a partisan. He is absolutely wanting in that calm historical temperament so essential in a controversialist, and which alone can secure attention, consideration, and a patient hearing from the great body of non-Catholics for whom, presumably, his book is published.

Whatever may be the experiences and the views of our American cousins, it is strongly felt in this country that facts should be allowed to speak for themselves. Nothing is so eloquent or so persuasive as a simple unvarnished exposition of historical truth. To paint the true picture of the Catholic Church in glowing words, and to describe her work and action and influence in various countries and in the various periods of her glorious career, is to do much to impress and win the mind of every impartial reader; but the inferences should be left for the reader to draw for himself. When the author draws his own conclusions, and introduces into what should

be a book of reference the heated indignation and the scathing invective, which is of questionable value even in the pulpit or on the public platform, he diminishes his power for good, and in a great measure destroys the value of his own work. *Non in contentione Deus*. The consequence of heated language is that the non-Catholic inquirer is aroused and annoyed; he no longer views the arguments with a cool, judicial mind, he puts himself on the defensive, and is likely to be more impressed by the angry tones of his belittler and the triumphant trumpeting of his antagonist than by the statements and statistics that are arrayed before him, and which, under other circumstances, would be most telling and persuasive.

There is also another circumstance which tends to diminish the value of this little treatise, and that is the introduction now and then of matter of no *permanent* interest, and of quotations from "nobodies," whose words are of scarcely any weight or influence.

The author justly points to the persecutions of the Catholics in Ireland, and the infamous treatment of her priests, but he knows little of English history if he thinks—as he seems to think—that English Catholics in Great Britain were treated with any greater indulgence or consideration. Speaking of the Irish, in a chapter devoted to "Protestant Civilisation in Ireland," he tells us that

Catholics were fined for every non-attendance upon the Protestant worship: for opening a school a fine of £20 or three months' imprisonment. No Protestant could marry a Catholic. An apostate son of a Catholic father could seize the whole family property (p. 39).

Now, these laws were not at all peculiar to Ireland, but prevailed in England as well. Again on p. 255, referring to the infidel section in France, he says:

The Paris University got its Secularist, nineteenth century, Protestant-like temper up, and in 1869 resolved to defeat the superior showing of the Christian Brothers' educational work. . . . Then they resorted to brute force to crush, if possible, the Catholic schools by conscripting all these noble self-denying Catholic schoolmasters into the army; following Protestant England's example in hanging and transporting all Catholic teachers in Ireland, etc.

This language is scarcely conciliatory; it is not even temperate; and the comparison is unfair to France. Further, the ringing of the changes upon *Ireland*, clearly leaves one under the impression that similar laws were not in force in England. Yet the fact is that every true priest in England was in just as much danger of imprisonment, torture, or death, as in Ireland. The laws, too, against teachers and schoolmasters were equally stringent. Even as late as

1699, any priest in England convicted of saying mass, or discharging any sacerdotal function, was made liable to *perpetual imprisonment*; and a reward of £100 was offered for conviction; and as to teachers and schoolmasters, any Papist who was found guilty of keeping a school or otherwise undertaking the education of the young in England was punished by *perpetual imprisonment*, and no parent might send his child abroad to be educated in the Catholic faith, under penalty of a fine of £100, which was bestowed upon the informer.

The idea of comparing Catholic with non-Catholic countries and nations, is, we think, an excellent one; and the special points of comparison selected by the author leaves little to be desired, though a wider knowledge of books and authorities and a little condensation of the matter, which they provide in such abundance, would have greatly enhanced the value of the work. In turning its pages we instinctively find ourselves exclaiming: "The book is so good, what a pity it is not better." Though this may sound a paradox, still our meaning is clear. If the authorities were more numerous, and, in some instances at least, better chosen, and the personal element wholly eliminated; if, in a word, the true historical record were allowed to tell its own impressive tale, we would then place the volume in the hands of any non-Catholic with far more confidence of producing a salutary effect. It is a really good book; we heartily recommend it; we wish it God-speed; but we feel at the same time that its value might have been much increased.

In addition to a table of contents, it has a full index of some twenty pages, and a list of American converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, occupying about fifteen pages, which, together, swell the volume to over six hundred and thirty pages in all.

Talleyrand. By Lady BLENNERHASSETT (Oräfin Leyden). Translated from the German by FREDERICK CLARKE. 2 vols. Pp. xxi-358, and x-400. London: Murray. 1894.

THE subject of this memoir was a man, who, as Lady Blennerhassett points out in her preface, during the eighty-four years of his life, experienced almost every variety of human fortune. Born in 1754, of parents who held a place among the feudal aristocracy of France, he became against his will an ecclesiastic and a priest. After his ordination he was made agent-general of the clergy, and in due course a bishop. His consecration was soon followed by his excommunication on account of the prominent part he took in the anti-ecclesiastical legislation of the time. Eleven years after his

excommunication he was secularised by Pius VII., and then was forced into a marriage at twenty-four hours' notice by Napoleon, acting under the influence of Josephine: in revenge for whose share in the business Talleyrand later on used his influence in favour of her divorce. He was not reconciled with the Church till he was on his deathbed, when he expressed his sorrow for all the scandal he had given, throwing, however, the responsibility on those who had laid a burden on him for which he was not fitted by nature. Of this deathbed repentance, Gregory XVI. said, "that it was the most gratifying event of his pontificate."

Talleyrand came before the world in the first place as an economist, but made his mark as a diplomatist. As such he took that part in European politics which enables his biographer to say that, "no one has taken a more active part in raising the edifice of modern society than this aristocratic minister who never courted popularity, and under every régime, at all periods of his life was a great patriot and an advocate of peace." He was in turn a minister of the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, and of Louis XVIII., and eventually Ambassador in London of Louis Philippe. He was in England in the latter capacity at the time of the passing of the great Reform Bill, and the impression that it made on him was that "England had entered on a path which would lead to a complete reconstruction of her institutions, and convert the greatest aristocratic government of modern times into a democratic community."

Lady Blennerhassett has made full use of the memoirs which were for so long withheld, and in addition she cites some three hundred other works. It is to be regretted that she should have interwoven so much of the general history of the period, as by doing so she has somewhat obscured her main subject. Her evident sympathy with the nationalist tendencies of the French Church tends to make the opportunist bishop a hero in her eyes, but she is alive to some at any rate of his defects, and sums up his character thus: "He was loaded with honours and dignities, and had achieved extraordinary success. One thing, however, was lacking, which can only be attained by sacrifice of self. He who accomplished so much, was incapable of renunciation for the sake of a higher aim. Wealth, admiration, and love, were at his command, but not respect."

The Watches of the Sacred Passion, with Before and After.

By FATHER P. GALLWEY, S.J. 3 vols. Pp. xi-543, viii-525, viii-448. Art and Book Co., Paternoster Row, &c. A.D. 1894.

THE Life and Passion of God Incarnate must ever form the chief subject of a Christian's meditation. It is indeed an old and familiar theme, yet ever fresh and new, equally applicable to all sorts and conditions of men, and to all times and ages.

To approach the study and contemplation of so great and hallowed a subject under the guidance of such an experienced and saintly teacher as the Rev. P. Gallwey, S.J., is an inestimable advantage, and one not always easy to secure.

In the three interesting volumes before us, the result of many years of industry and research, we have a very full and detailed account of "the evening of Our Lord's Life on Earth." The first five and twenty pages of the work form a sort of introduction, in which the devout reader is taught how to approach the subject with fitting dispositions, and how best to profit by its consideration. The method of contemplating the Passion of Our Lord, followed by St. Ignatius, is carefully explained and illustrated by numerous examples and illustrations.

In Chapter II. we have the Person of the Man-God set before us, as He is about to raise Lazarus from the dead. The journey to Bethany, where he, "whom Jesus loved lay sick," the incidents on the way, the words spoken, and the persons met, are all commented upon, and made to supply food for reflection. Let us take the words that passed between Jesus and Martha concerning the deceased Lazarus, and listen to Father Galwey's comment. Martha said to Him :

I know that he shall rise again in the Resurrection at the last day. Jesus said to her, I am the Resurrection and the Life. He that believeth in me, although he be dead, shall live.

On this our venerable author remarks :

A.—Martha has only a far-off hope for the Last day. And so we oftentimes have only a faint hope that things will come right in heaven. But Our Saviour does not wait for heaven. He means His faithful friends to have also their hundredfold here. He means this earth, where now He has fixed His abode, in the tabernacle, to be no longer a cheerless valley of tears, but "*aula Dei et porta cæli*"—the outer court of God, and the gate of heaven. (Gen. xxvii.)

B.—*I am the Resurrection and the Life.* So our Lord speaks to us from the tabernacle. Do not go elsewhere. Come to Me, all you who labour. Even if you are dead, *I am the Resurrection.* If your soul is sick to death, *I am the Life.* Do not stay away from Confession and Communion,

because you are full of infirmities. *They that are whole need not the physician, but they that are sick.* (St. Luke v.)

C.—*He that believeth in Me, although he be dead, shall live.* Of all times, it is when we have lost the life of grace by deliberate sin, that we have the greatest need of a strong act of faith and hope. Satan knows well that he has gained but little, so long as hope lives in the soul. Therefore as soon as ever he has induced a soul to sin, he immediately sets to work most diligently to bring about a further sin—a much worse sin—against hope. For he knows that we dishonour Our Father in heaven and the *plentiful redemption* of our Lord Jesus Christ by the second sin against hope, much more than by the former sin of anger or sensuality. He knows that the soul that can say after sin, “My God and my Father, my sin is great, but Thy mercy is greater,” has already gone a long way towards repairing the sin committed. Therefore, with all manner of lies and trickery, Lucifer labours to persuade the sinner who has just fallen, that he cannot possibly pray as yet, that it would be a mockery and an insult, and that he must wait some days. It is St. Augustine who says, that as hope is like the fresh air that sustains life, a sin against hope has the effect of strangulation, so that the breath of life from heaven cannot find entrance into the soul. As long as hope lives in the soul, forgiveness will certainly come, and the life of grace will be restored. *He that believeth in Me* (and My promises) *although he be dead, shall live.* (Pp. 48, 49.)

Thus Father Galwey takes us on, step by step, through all the events marking the closing period of Our Saviour's life. In language simple, clear, and unstudied, and almost conversational, he speaks to us of the teaching and example of the Great Master; now drawing forth some hidden meaning, now reconciling some apparently conflicting testimonies, now explaining some Scriptural difficulties, now introducing a passage from a saint or doctor of the Church, and now again suggesting ejaculatory prayers or devout aspirations.

Indeed, the work is in part historical, in part devotional, and in part critical. It is especially suitable for Lent, and for times of personal suffering and sorrow, and cannot fail to help to render the yoke of Christ sweet, and His burden light, to the troubled and afflicted.

The work is enriched with maps, plans, illustrations, and other aids to the imagination in its effort to recall the incidents of the past; and though there is no regular index, each volume is furnished with a fairly complete table of contents.

Traité de la Communion. Par le R. P. VAUBERT, S.J. Paris: Téqui. 1895.

WE are glad to see a new edition of Father Vaubert's valuable guide to the Holy Table. Though written in French, it ought to find many readers amongst English Catholics, for the style

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is clear and the tone practical. The author has divided his treatise into four parts. In the first, with a view to excite a desire for Holy Communion, Father Vaubert shows what are the ends and advantages of the great Sacrament. The second part contains a well-explained analogy between the conditions requisite for deriving profit from corporal food, and those requisite for deriving profit from spiritual food. The defects which explain why numberless Christians remain unchanged after many communions are set out in the third part in language severely theological, yet simple withal. As, however, the book is not intended for the schools, the instructions contained in the preceding parts are gathered up and reduced to practice in the fourth part, which is in itself a communicant's manual as complete as it is varied. For visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Father Vaubert's little book will be found extremely useful.

Martyrs et Bourreaux. J. GENOUD. Paris: Téqui. 1895.

PROFESSOR GENOUD, the learned author of "*Saints de la Suisse Française*," has done a service to tyros in Church History by bringing out his latest work, "*Martyrs et Bourreaux*." Within a space of 250 pages the writer has ably and lucidly summarized Guérin and de Rossi's vast contributions to the literature of the early Roman persecutions. Should the absence of notes suggest a lack of scholarship, a careful examination of the text will quickly convince the reader that M. Genoud is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and knows where the best authorities think the ground is solid, and where they proceed with critical caution. The book opens with a clear though rapid statement of the causes which led to the ten great persecutions. Although no new light is thrown upon this intricate question, the Professor's first chapter is well worth reading. But the chapters palpitating with the liveliest interest are undoubtedly the second, where the instruments of torture are described in the very words of the "Acts" of the Martyrs, and the last, where the attacks of Diocletian and his imperial colleagues are told in most graphic style. The writer's manner of treating his theme is exceedingly simple and methodical. He begins by giving a short sketch of the persecuting emperors, then passes in review the chief martyrdoms in each reign, and finishes by showing how the justice of God overtook in the end one tyrant after another. In so brief a work details are necessarily scanty, and names which have suggested whole libraries are often dismissed with a line. Yet "*Martyrs et Bourreaux*" is far from

dry reading. The shortest reference to a Christian hero or heroine is marked by a happy epithet or phrase which stamps the flying record with individuality and life. In this, as in other respects, there is evidence of the thoroughness with which the author has studied and incorporated that vivid and classical "Roll-Call of the Saints"—the Roman martyrology. The style is precise without stiffness, full of feeling without hysterical enthusiasm. The idea which gave birth to this little volume is useful and ennobling. As his Lordship the Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva puts it, in his introductory letter to "*Martyrs et Bourreaux*," our age which manifests so much egotism, indifference, and weakness of character, has great need to be recalled to a view of the life and struggles of the early Christians. If parents and children will consider the heroism of the Catholics of the first centuries of the Church, they will better endure the slight troubles inseparable from home life, and will endeavour to console each other in their trials, and to stand successfully against the attacks made on their faith and their Church."

La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Docteurs les plus célèbres. Par L'Abbé P. FERET. *Moyen Age*, tome deuxième. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, éditeurs, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1895. Pp. 613.

THIS is an interesting account of the life and writings of Vincent of Beauvais, Albert the Great, S. Thomas, S. Bonaventure, John of Peckham, Roger Bacon, and a crowd of other and minor celebrities who were more or less connected with the University of Paris during the Middle Ages. The book is to some extent critical, but where it is critical it is occasionally trivial. Thus M. Feret, after intimating that according to the common opinion Roger Bacon was born at Ilchester in Somerset, goes on to say that, as there were Bacons in Normandy at the period in question, M. Charles Jourdain is of opinion that Roger Bacon may have been born in that province. Surely the fact that there were men named Bacon living in Normandy affords no proof that a certain definite Bacon was born there, especially when tradition has universally assigned him another birthplace. Nevertheless, M. Feret calls this theory of Jourdain's, which has no other ground than the one mentioned, "une respectable conjecture." Our author, however, does not accept this conjecture, for all its respectability, as valid, but impugns it on the ground that there may have been Bacons in England as well as in Normandy, which is a

method of reasoning of a piece with M. Jourdain's. When discussing the authorship of the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, M. Feret quotes M. Fétis to the effect that S. Thomas was not the author of the hymn *Adoro Te*. "I possess," says M. Fétis, "a manuscript of the fourteenth century which contains this Office in its original form, and the *Adoro Te* is not found in it." M. Feret ought not to have allowed this reasoning to pass unquestioned. So far as we can learn from our author, M. Fétis gives no proof whatever that this manuscript of his really does "contain the Office in its original form." Moreover, the omission of the *Adoro Te* might be accounted for by the fact that it is not a liturgical hymn, and does not in strictness belong to the Office of the Blessed Sacrament. But, if M. Fétis denies to S. Thomas the authorship of the words of the *Adoro Te*, it is pleasant to learn from M. Feret that the same historian ascribes to S. Thomas the composition of the "beautiful tunes of the hymn *Pange lingua*, and of the prose, *Lauda, Sion*." We did not know before that S. Thomas was a musician, but we are quite willing to learn it now. M. Feret, however, refuses to attribute to S. Thomas a treatise on music, *De Arte Musica*, which was recently discovered in the library of the University of Padua, and is by some ascribed to the Angelical Doctor. According to M. Feret, quite apart from the inaccuracies in the work which might be due to the negligence of copyists, the treatise is wanting in the clearness which invariably characterises the writings of S. Thomas.

The Odes of Horace. Translated into English by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. London: John Murray. 1894.

THIS new translation of the "Odes of Horace" will naturally excite a certain amount of curiosity, not so much on account of Horace himself, as to see how he appears after being passed through the alembic of Mr. Gladstone's mind. In the preface to the present volume the question is naturally asked, Why add to the number of the translations of the Horatian Odes? Mr. Gladstone's principal answer is that, with one exception, the various translators have not recognised the "necessity of compression." A few words will be said about this later on, but, after all, little apology is needed. Nobody, indeed, believes that a new translation of the "Odes of Horace" supplies a felt want, but if any one likes to amuse himself by translating Horace, why should he not do so? It may be said, it is true, that such a one is not bound to publish his translation, and that if he does he must expect criticism, for every one who publishes

necessarily challenges the public verdict on his work. But surely some justification for publishing arises from the very difficulty of the task. Just as there can be no definitive translation of any poetry, so every one who makes the attempt may flatter himself that in some respects he has surpassed his predecessors. He runs a risk, no doubt, but it is a *dulce periculum*, a pleasant peril. The impossibility of adequate poetical translation has often been demonstrated, and it is nowhere put more succinctly than by the late Mr. G. H. Lewes in his "Life of Goethe." "The meanings of a poem and the meanings of the individual words," he says, "may be reproduced; but in a poem meaning and form are as indissoluble as soul and body; and the form cannot be reproduced." The most celebrated translations, such as Coleridge's of Schiller's *Wallenstein*, or Fitzgerald's of the *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyám, are themselves English poems of first-rate merit, quite independently of their originals. Not only are the idioms and metaphors of one language different from those of another, but nearly every word has its own peculiar associations, and it is here that the chief test of poetry comes in. We may see at once how a line of English poetry may, by a slight alteration, give the same sense and yet cease to be poetry. With how much greater force does this apply to a foreign language, and, most of all, to a dead language, in which the associations of words are discovered by us only with much labour, and often not at all!

We mostly think of Horace as the poet of love and wine, the genial advocate of the *carpe diem* philosophy, the judicious commender of the golden mean, and from this point of view we call a modern poem such as Tennyson's *Invitation to the Rev. F. D. Maurice*—"Horatian," and so it is; but we must remember, at the same time, that many of the Odes are as serious as the *Aeneid*, and have indeed the same end—viz., to inculcate a sense of the greatness of Rome, and of the prosperity and peace of the new era which began under Augustus after the battle of Actium. This remark has special reference to the first six Odes of the third book, commonly called the Roman Odes. No doubt Virgil is a better representative of the religious and ethical side of the Roman character, but the wider sympathies of Horace make him perhaps the more typical poet of the age. Horace is a true Roman, and if he chooses to indulge in folly on occasion (*desipere in loco*) he is always mindful of the Roman *gravitas*. His short poems in the Greek manner on love and wine do not go far beneath the surface. He is no slave of passion like Catullus, and so as a poet he lacks the highest inspiration. As the late Prof. Sellar—who has given us the best English account of Horace—observes, Horace learns two lessons from the uncertainty

of fortune, "the necessity of each man's absolute dependence on himself, and the necessity of limiting his desires."

The Epistles are the most characteristic of his writings. They embody most clearly his philosophy of life, and their ease of movement of rhythm is the perfection of art. Moreover, all his writings are pervaded by that *urbanitas*, that well-bred charm of style and manner that has made Horace the perpetual favourite of young and old. But, after all, it is to the latter, to those who have had deep and sad experience of the limitations of human life, that Horace comes home with the greatest force.

Then [says Newman, referring to Homer and Horace], then a man comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm, which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival.

There is, however, nothing of chance, nothing spontaneous in Horace. The art of the Odes is only too apparent, there is not a single line, not a single epithet, but Horace well knew how it came there. We notice this especially in the fourth book, published at a later period than the others, where Horace writes as the poet-laureate of the time. It is no wonder then that the Odes of Horace are proverbially difficult to translate, and the best translator is he who fails least conspicuously.

The translations with which it is most natural to compare Mr. Gladstone's are those of Sir Theodore Martin and the late Prof. Conington. It is generally allowed that the former version, though it has many beauties as being the work of a true poet, is much too diffuse, and its merits, however great they may be, are yet not those of Horace. Moreover, the choice of metre is often unfortunate. There is no affinity between Horace and the jingling metres of Moore and Campbell which Sir Theodore often adopts. Conington, however, is not open to these objections. He is as terse as Mr. Gladstone can desire, and the fault found with him is that he assumes as a principle and carries out as a practice the rule "that all Odes, which Horace has written in one and the same metre, are to be rendered in one and the same metre by his translators." Reasonable exception may be taken to this rule, as Mr. Gladstone points out, for Horace treats in the same metre of subjects as remote as possible from one another, and the adoption of any particular metre in translating should be the resultant of a variety of considerations to be applied to the English as well as to the Latin language. Mr. Gladstone, then, has done wisely in declining to fetter himself by

any fixed rule. The metre which he most often uses, and in which he is most successful, is the eight-syllabled quatrain, called in hymns the "common metre."

As might be expected from Mr. Gladstone's many gifts and graces, we find several Odes well translated throughout, and others with numerous felicities of expression, but one seldom reads an ode of any length without meeting something which mars the effect. The most obvious fault is unevenness, seen by frequent lapses into prosaic modes of expression and sometimes into the most lamentable bathos. Mr. Gladstone, in fact, does not seem to know when he is writing well and when he is writing badly. As a consequence, it is to the shorter Odes we must look for the best specimens. Two are here given. First, the Ode to Leuconoë (i. 11):

Oh, ask thou not, 'tis sin to know,
What time to me, to thee
The gods allot: Chaldean tricks
Eschew, Leuconoë.

How better far to face our fate;
Be other winters yet
Ordained for us by Jove, or this
The last, now sternly set

To weary out by fronting rocks
The angry Tuscan main.
True wisdom learn. Decant the wine.
Far-reaching schemes restrain.

Our span is brief. The niggard hour,
In chatting, ebbs away;
Trust nothing for to-morrow's sun:
Make harvest of to-day.

The last line is a very happy rendering of "*carpe diem*" and much superior to Conington's "*seize the present*," or Sir T. Martin's "*then live to-day*."

Secondly, the Ode to Chloe (i. 23):

Chloe flies me, as young deer
Track the dam along the hill,
Not without an idle fear
Lest the wood, the wind, may kill.

Chloe! if the spring be born,
If its breeze just move the trees,
If green lizards stir the thorn,
Tremble, heart, and tremble, knees.

No Gaetolian lion I,
I no tigress at thy back:
Ripe for mates, no more be shy,
Tread no more thy mother's track.

The second stanza would be improved by the substitution of "breath" for "breeze," which makes an unpleasant rhyme with "trees" just where it is not wanted. The gem of the whole collection is perhaps the Ode *Quid fles, Asterie* (iii. 7), but it is too long to be quoted in full. These are all lighter Odes, and it may be remarked generally that Mr. Gladstone seems much more at home in translating these than in the more serious Odes. The following may be selected as favourable specimens of translation: To Dellius (ii. 3), to Licinius (ii. 10), to Hirpinus (ii. 11), to Postumus (ii. 14), especially "placens uxor," "winsome wife," the praise of Bacchus (ii. 19), especially "pacies eras mediusque belli," "in war as [better "and"] peace a central force," Horace and Lydia (iii. 9), the only example in Horace of a *carmen amœbæum* especially "si parcent animæ fata superstiti," "so she, my better life, may live," to Lyce in bloom (iii. 10), especially the lines "Non te Penelopen difficilem procis Tyrrhenus genuit parens," which are happily turned "No prude thy father gendered; meant not thee To play Penelope," to the fountain of Bandusia (iii. 13), to Pyrrhus (iii. 20), and to Torquatus (iv. 7), on the contrast between the life of nature and the life of man.

Two good stanzas from the Europa Ode (iii. 27) may also be quoted:

At dawn she called the flowers afield,
To weave the Nymphs a coronal,
But night the stars and seas revealed,
And those were all.

* * * * *

These comely cheeks ere leanness kill,
Ere youth's sweet sap shall drain away,
So let me sink, in beauty still
The tiger's prey.

Among Mr. Gladstone's isolated happy renderings may be quoted, "Serus in caelum redeas," "nor earlier take thy passage home," Augustus being looked on as a god who only condescended to visit the earth for a season; "dices laborantes in uno, Penelopen vitreamque Circen," "Penelope and Circe sing Both sick at heart, and sick for one." The last phrase is admirable, but in the previous line the epithet *vitream* is untranslated, and in the same Ode we have "devious thyme" (as if *thyma devicæ* could agree), where *devicæ* is an epithet of the she-goats, so uneven is Mr. Gladstone's work. Mr. Gladstone often produces an excellent effect by this repetition of a word, as again in the Ode on the victory of Drusus (iv. 4), where Hannibal says:

No more from me of vaunting tales;
 'Tis past; all hope hath perished, all;
 The fortune of my nation fails,
 It died with dying Asdrubal.

Conington also has the line last quoted. Again, "*Omne capax movet urna nomen*" ("the urn hath room for every name"), "*donatura cycni sonum*" ("a tone Swans might be fain to own"), and others may be picked out.

It was said above that Mr. Gladstone frequently lapses into prosaic expressions and even into bathos. It is now proposed to substantiate this charge, after which less obvious, but still more serious, faults will be considered. i. 27 begins thus:

The goblets, born for ends of joy,
 Let Thracians for their frays employ;
 We spurn the savage use; and more,
 Our Bacchus ne'er shall reek with gore.

What a dreadful fall in the words "and more!" besides there is nothing like it in the Latin. i. 29 begins:

Arabian gold now suits thy mood,
 Friend Iccius. Thou wilt freely bleed
 Sabæan kings, not yet subdued, &c.

The words "freely bleed" in connection with "Arabian gold," irresistibly suggest that Iccius is to "bleed" Sabæan kings for the "Arabian gold." In the Cleopatra Ode (i. 37), which if not one of the most finished, is at any rate one of the most spirited of the Odes, we meet with the following tame lines:

The fire, that burned her fleet,
 Brought back reflection to its seat.

* * * *

And she fled,
 And wore the hues of genuine dread.

"Genuine" is essentially a prose word. And, worst of all,

* * * *

She lodged the vipers on her skin,
 Where best to drink the poison in.

In (iv. 5), an Ode to Augustus, we read:

Each, passing his own day at his own doors,
 Trains vines athwart his trees the joyous cup
 Then handles as he will, and thee adores
 As god, in winding up.

The wretched bathos "in winding up" spoils the whole ode. The

bathos in the Ode to Lydia (i. 13) will be mentioned under another heading, as it arises from a misunderstanding of Horace's meaning. There are many other cases in which Mr. Gladstone's translation if not quite so bad is totally inadequate, as in "aut facili sævitia negat" ("if coyly she deny"), which quite misses the force of the oxymoron. Conington is much better with "or with kind cruelty denies the due." Oxymoron is frequent in Horace and quite a feature of his style, and some attempt therefore should be made to express it in English. Other examples of it are *splendide mendax* (perhaps the best-known instance in Latin), *beatus vulnere*, *immitis Glycere*, *insanientis sapientie*, *egregius exsul*. All this, of course, adds greatly to the difficulty of translation, and so does the frequent juxtaposition of antithetic words, as *dulcia barbare*, *captiveæ dominum*, *tenues grandia*, *perfidus hospitam*, &c. The well-known *cruæ* for translators, "vultus nimium lubricus adspici," is quite untranslatable in English, and the exact meaning can only be given by an explanation. Mr. Gladstone's rendering "And face, ah! perilous to view," though feeble, is no worse than others.

It has been previously mentioned that Mr. Gladstone in his preface calls attention to the "necessity of compression" in translating Horace. It is no doubt a necessity, but it may easily be pushed to an extreme, and it has perils of its own which exemplify other faults of Mr. Gladstone's version. It is obvious that, do what you will, from the nature of the language, English cannot be compressed as much as Latin. The great danger of terseness is obscurity. Now obscurity is avoided in Latin by the inflexion, but in English this resource is unavailable. Too much terseness again leads to omissions of epithets which simply cannot be omitted in Horace if the sense and point are to be kept. Mr. Gladstone makes a fetish of compression as much as Conington does of preserving the same metres. Added to this are the ordinary difficulties brought about by the exigencies of metre, and this brings us on to further faults, viz., unfamiliar words, unfamiliar uses of words, strange constructions, sometimes barely English, inversions, and even undue expansions, the very fault which Mr. Gladstone most condemns. Examples will now be given of these.

First, of omissions and expansions. In iii. 23, *horna Fruge Lares avidaque porca*, the epithets are omitted, and we are put off with "grain and swine;" in iv. 2, *in mea vota* is left untranslated; in iv. 5, *viduas* the epithet of *arbores* is omitted; so in iv. 7, *splendida* the epithet of *arbitria* is omitted; in iii. 4, *avidus* the epithet of *Vulcanus* is omitted. As examples of expansion we find in i. 35, "clamps no human hand can rip," to represent *severus uncus*—a

good deal for *severus* to mean; in iii. 29 we read: "Nor summits where by fate's decree Telegonus his father slew," to translate *Telegoni juga parricidæ*. There is nothing about "fate's decree" in the original. It may be said these are slight matters, and so they might be in any other author than Horace, but there are more serious flaws under the second head of obscurity, inversions, unfamiliar expressions, &c. For instance, "day's entire," "void," meaning "heart-whole," "Let sires be sires" (what can this convey to an English reader? The Latin is *melior fortuna parente*), "Nor mind nor colour in one stay continue," "young funerals," for "funerals of the young," "my warm ash," for *ashes*, "affront the skies." In ii. 2, we read:

Of him, that gold though heaped on high
Can pass with unreverting eye.

The inversion almost produces obscurity. But the most obscure of all is the first stanza of the Ode to Septimius (ii. 6), which is quite unintelligible:

Septimius! wilt thou come with me
Where unsubdued the Spaniard breathes?
Or where, off Moorish coasts, the sea
Apulian Syrtes ever seethes?

Is it the sea that "seethes" the Syrtes, or the Syrtes "seethes" the sea? In either case there is no sense, as "seethes" cannot mean "makes to seethe." Moreover, there are no "Apulian Syrtes," and if there were, what possible connection is there between "Apulian Syrtes" and "Moorish Coasts"? The Latin is quite simple, *Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper æstuat unda*, "the savage Syrtes where the Moorish wave ever seethes." Is it possible that Apulian is a misprint for Barbarian? Perhaps Mr. Gladstone will explain.

But there are graver faults still to be found with Mr. Gladstone. In his preface he tells us that the translator of Horace "should endeavour, with whatever changes of mere form, to preserve in all cases the sense and point of his author," an excellent admonition. but it makes one exclaim with the poet, *at tu dictis Albane maneres!* Would that thou hadst been mindful of thy own words. Mr. Gladstone frequently mistranslates Horace, thus spoiling the sense, and he frequently misses the points altogether. The following are cases of mistranslation, which are really unaccountable, as they cannot, of course, be ascribed to ignorance of the true meaning:

i. 8.

neque jam livida gestat armis
Brachia, sæpe disco,
Sæpe trans finem jaculo nobilis expedito.

Why bear his arms no livid bruise
Of curling? He, once so famed, full often past
The mark his quoit or dart to cast.

A footnote says: "There is not to my knowledge any English word which describes the game here intended by Horace. But it exactly corresponds with the Scotch game of curling; which, however, is played upon the ice." And yet there is absolutely nothing in the Latin to correspond to this alleged game! The literal translation is "nor does he any longer show arms discoloured by his weapons, he who gained glory oft with the quoit, oft with the javelin sped beyond the mark?" The *armis* or weapons with which his arms are discoloured (and which Mr. Gladstone makes into a separate game) *are* the quoit and javelin mentioned directly after:

i. 16. Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
 Limo coactus particulam undique
 Desectam, et insani leonis
 Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.

Once Prometheus, as they say,
Fusing this and that began;
Mixed it up with primal clay,
Lion's might with spleen of man.

This is perhaps a more flagrant case of mistranslation than the first. Even the English is unintelligible, for what does "it" in the third line refer to? This Ode is a mock recantation of some scurrilous verses that Horace had previously written. He now craves pardon and dwells on the disastrous effects of anger. In this stanza allusion is made to a myth about the creation of man by Prometheus. His brother Epimetheus (*i.e.*, Afterthought) had used up all the qualities with which living creatures, after being moulded in clay, had to be endowed, before he came to man, and thus Prometheus (Forethought), as a remedy for this, was compelled to take a small portion of their qualities from each animal. The literal translation is, "It is said that Prometheus, when compelled to add to the elemental clay a particle severed from every creature, added to our heart the fury of a raging lion." Horace thus accounts for the excessive development of the passion of anger in man's nature. It is evident then how completely Mr. Gladstone has misrepresented the passage. One would think from reading his version that Prometheus, like the witches in Macbeth was concocting something fresh from mixing the might of a lion with the spleen of a man. *Stomacho* here does not mean anger itself, but the seat of anger, what we call "the heart."

- i. 35. Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ
 Urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox
 metuunt

Thee vagrant Scyth, and Dacian rude
 Dread, as they dread high Rome's behest.

This is quite wrong. *Latium ferox* is the nominative not accusative case. The translation is, "Thee [*i.e.*, Fortune], the fierce Dacian, thee, the roaming Scythians, and cities and nations, and valiant Latium dread, &c." Horace is here insisting on the universality of Fortune's sway. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone omits altogether "*urbesque gentesque*."

- ii. 15. Nec fortuitum spernere cœspitem
 Leges sinebant, oppida publico
 Sumptu jubentes et Deorum
 Templa novo decorare saxo.

The common turf, that grew at large,
 Those ancient laws bade all respect,
 But freely at the public charge
 With stone our towns and temples decked.

A note says: "The more usual rendering treats the *fortuitus cœspes* as material for houses. I have taken the passage as a prohibition of encroachment." In face of this note it will scarcely be credited that the "more usual rendering" is the only possible rendering, and that by no ingenuity can the Latin be tormented into a reference to encroachment. Yet so it is. The literal translation is "and the laws did not allow them to scorn the turf which chance supplied." The men of old in their frugality expended little on themselves, but used the turf that came in their way for roofing their cottages. Then we have the antithesis. They spent their means on adorning the towns, and temples of the gods. "To despise the chance turf," would indeed be a strange expression to denote encroachment on the common turf, unless "to despise" means "to covet."

- ii. 18. Hic superbum
 Tantalum atque Tantalī
 Genus cœrcet; hic levare functum
 Panperem laboribus
 Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

He grips the sire of Pelops, and his line,
 But freely will resign
 Called or uncalled, the pauper, who shall close
 His labours in repose.

What does "resign" mean? It appears to be opposed to "grips,"

as if Charon (the *Satelles Orci*, really Death) will not seize the pauper as much as the rich man. *Levare* really means "relieve," *i.e.*, Death relieves the poor man of the burden of life, and the antithesis between *coercet* and *levare* is not that of death and no death, but of the effect of death upon the rich man and the poor man respectively. One more example, which shall be the last.

iii. 21. Te Liber, et, si læta aderit, Venus,
 Segnesque nodum solvere Gratia,

Bacchus, and Venus if she will,
And Graces, now with zones undone,

But *segnesque nodum solvere* does not mean "with zones undone," but almost the exact opposite—*viz.*, "slow to undo [*i.e.*, they do not undo] the knot" that unites them to one another, *numquam solventes*, as Orelli explains it. Compare the line *Gratia Nudis juncta sororibus*. Mr. Gladstone has perhaps been misled by another phrase, *solutis Gratiæ zonis*. These examples have purposely been chosen because there is, among scholars, no difference of opinion as to their interpretation. If Mr. Gladstone then takes them differently, it can only be answered with all due respect that Mr. Gladstone is mistaken. The untrustworthiness of his version of Horace is thus apparent. It may, however, be said that while in particular cases Mr. Gladstone may have failed to render Horace's meaning correctly, yet that on the whole he has caught the Horatian style and spirit. This is a plausible contention, although inaccuracy in detail is hardly a guarantee of accuracy on a larger scale, but it will be found that Mr. Gladstone is no more successful from this point of view than in translation. He frequently misses the point, even when he does not mistranslate. Thus in i. 13 quæ Venus Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuat, "[kiss], which, Venus, holds by thy decree The fifth part of thy nectar's bliss." The words *quinta parte* are used in a philosophical sense, and refer to the Pythagorean division of all things into four elements and a certain fifth existence of a higher nature, hence our word "quintessence," and Horace here means by *quinta parte* not "the fifth part," but "the best part of her own sweetness." Thus Mr. Gladstone by too literal a translation has missed the point and fallen into an absurd bathos. Conington's rendering is "Sweetest lips, which Venus kind, Has tinctured with her quintessential charm."

In the Quintilius Ode to Virgil (i. 24), we read :

Tu frustra pius heu ! non ita creditum
Poscis Quintilium Deos.

who, in vain
Devout, has sought him from the gods of heaven,
But he was lent, not given.

The last line is a pretty rendering in itself, and has been admired, but it leaves an incorrect impression, as implying that Quintilius was only lent by the gods to Virgil, and that, therefore, Virgil could not expect to keep him. This thought is modern rather than Horatian. The meaning conveyed by the Latin is that Quintilius was entrusted to the care of heaven by Virgil, but entrusted *non ita* "not on such terms" as that he was not to be restored, and this meaning can be given by Mr. Gladstone's version if the word "for" is substituted for "but." It is true that Lambinus gives the same interpretation as Mr. Gladstone, but then *tant pis* for Lambinus, as the meaning of *creditum* is settled by other passages, e.g., Ode i. 3. 5:

Brachia et vultum teretesque duras
Integer laudo; fuge suspicari,
Cujus octavum trepidavit aetas
Claudere lustrum.

Arms, and face, and tapering ankles
Unreproached I gauge.
Who suspects me? Eight my lustres,
And my shield, mine age.

In this Ode, Horace is bantering a youth for falling in love with a slave-girl. Mr. Gladstone's translation of this closing stanza would make the reader think that the point is "do not be afraid for me. I am not affected by her charms, for I am protected by my age," whereas the point really is "do not suspect me of interfering with you. I am now too old to be affected by her charms." "Unreproached" is quite an inadequate rendering for *integer*, which means "untouched." In iii. 21 *mero* is translated "wine, and wine unmixed." In this passage *mero* is only equivalent to *vino*, there is no emphasis laid on the wine being unmixed, and respectable Romans did not drink unmixed wine.

iv. 2. *Quamvis redeant in aurum tempora priscum*, "though Time's great womb unfold the age of gold." Mr. Gladstone seems here to represent Horace as agreeing with the modern belief that the true golden age lies in the future, whereas the golden age of the ancients was placed in the remote past, and the literal rendering is "though the ages should return to the primeval gold." Mr. Gladstone, no doubt, knows this perfectly well, but his translation at any rate leaves a false impression.

iii. 8, to Mæcnas. *Negligens, ne qua populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimium cavere;*

Thou, no longer charged with power,
 Though the State-ship somewhat heave,
 Care but little.

The objection here is that Mæcenas was "charged with power," at this time, he was in fact in charge of the Government of Rome, as we know from the date of the ode and from the words of Horace just before, *mitte civiles super urbe curas*. This is clearly inconsistent with Mæcenas being a mere private individual. *Privatus* then does not mean "since you are a private person," but "as a private person." To take a *domesticum exemplum*, could not Mr. Gladstone, while still Premier, have received an invitation "privatus"? Certainly he could. It would be an invitation to forget for a time the cares of State in the enjoyment of private society, and that is exactly what Horace means here.

Lastly, as modern taste on many subjects is opposed to that of classical times, it is necessary for a translator to omit or gloss over certain passages, and Mr. Gladstone has usually done so. It is, for example, quite against modern taste to speak of a young girl as *juvenca*, a heifer. Mr. Gladstone might perhaps have gone a little further and omitted Odes i. 25 and ii. 5, as Conington has done. Having, however, chosen to translate the former Ode, what perverse spirit can have led him to perpetrate such an atrocity as "And with fire of cankered entrails [!]"? How far the blemishes in this translation take away from its value as a representation of Horace the reader must judge for himself. An attempt has at any rate been made to avoid all vague terms of praise and blame, and to give exact references for each statement. The conclusion to which the writer is led is that as English poetry Mr. Gladstone's is much below Sir Theodore Martin's version, and as a translation of Horace it is much below Conington's version. Conington, indeed, is at least Mr. Gladstone's equal as a writer of English, and much his superior as a scholar. Nor is there anything derogatory to Mr. Gladstone in saying this. It would be strange if it were otherwise, it would be strange if in a life immersed in affairs of State Mr. Gladstone had had leisure to acquire that exact scholarship and that complete acquaintance with all the best Latin literature which is necessary for one who would even tolerably succeed in accomplishing that most difficult of literary tasks—a translation of the Odes of Horace.

R. C. S.

Reviews in Brief.

Legends and Stories of the Holy Child Jesus from many Lands. Collected by A. FOWLER LUTZ. This is a charming collection of very simple, pious, and instructive stories of various kinds, illustrating different sides of the Sacred Infancy. Its moral is clear, pungent, and persuasive, calculated to interest and amuse children. Its presence in every nursery would be a welcome and valuable acquisition.

What "Bible Truth" is according to S.P.C.K. A Protest. By Rev. J. H. S. MORLY, B.A., Chaplain H.M. Forces, London. Rivington, Percival & Co. 1894.—We cannot say that we sympathise with this work. It is a long tirade against Professor Sayce, and not always a very wise one. The author is doubtless animated by the highest motives. But his *zeal* for the Word of God is not manifested uniformly throughout this work "according to knowledge." It is indeed "a protest." But a protest to be reasonable must rest upon *reasons*, and of these there is a singular dearth in this book. We have our own differences with Professor Sayce on some points, but our position is *essentially* different from that of the Rev. Mr. Morly. He says, p. 13, "The Church of England especially refuses to accept the decrees even of a General Council as of strength or authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture" (Acts 21). We can only say, so much the worse for the Church of England. As to the *consistency* of the S.P.C.K. in this matter, it is no business of ours to interfere with that enlightened body. It is well known that inconsistency generally accompanies error.

F. D.

Under a Cloud. By M. F. S.—A touching family story most pleasantly written.

The Flower of the Flock. By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.—Two very interesting tales for little or big people. At times touching, at others very amusing.

Orchids. A Novel. By LELIA HARDING BUGG.—An interesting novel—full of originality—highly moral. Plot well sustained throughout.

Jet, the War Mule, and other Stories for boys and girls. By ELLA LORAINÉ DORSEY.—This little book is extremely well written, full of incident, quite a choice bit among children's books. Really its title does not do justice to the contents.

Mostly Boys. Short Stories. By FRANCIS J. FINN, S.J.—An elevating and, at the same time, captivating book, which we would wish to find in every boy's library.

Bernadette of Lourdes. By E. POUVILLON. Translated by HENRY O'SHEA. London: Burns & Oates.—The story of Bernadette, the Child of the Vision of Lourdes, has an inexhaustible fascination for all who call to mind the greatness of the task committed to her. Here it is dramatised in a form intended to follow the lines of the old Mystery Plays, in which sacred subjects were popularised by scenic representation. The story of the Pyrenean shepherdess is told, with but trifling departure from historic truth, in a series of dialogues interspersed with descriptive and narrative passages intended to elucidate its various phases. The result is a graceful and poetical version of the wondrous tale of the shrine of Massabielle.

Lourdes et Betharram. Par M. L'Abbé PH. MAZOYER. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1895.—The history of Lourdes, from its origin in legendary times to its glorification as the wonder-working sanctuary of the present century, is here illustrated with dainty woodcuts from original drawings, as well as with maps of the locality. For those who have not visited the place it will be a help to realise it in imagination, while to pilgrims it will furnish a charming remembrance of their stay. With the description of Lourdes is associated that of the older and less known Bearnais sanctuary of Betharram, some ten miles distant from it, and like it situated on the banks of the Gave. Here, too, legend avouches that Our Lady chose a site for her shrine, revealing herself in the first instance to a group of peasant children. Many curious and interesting details are given of the vicissitudes of a resort of pilgrimage whose fame has been eclipsed by that of its neighbour.

The Inner Life of Father Burke, O.P. By a Dominican Friar of the English Province. London: Burns & Oates.—This interesting sketch of the religious life of the great Dominican preacher is intended to supplement the longer biography, in which the superficial aspect of his character as a wit and conversationalist was allowed to veil the depth of fervent piety and saintliness

forming its real basis. Here we have him set before us, not as the brilliant jester or inspired orator, but as the apostolic priest with the loftiest sense of his sublime vocation, the most tender love of souls, and the most heroic patience during a ten years' martyrdom of suffering. Nothing in the volume gives a higher idea of his character than the picture it presents of his constant mortification of self-love as an antidote to the pride which perhaps assails the successful pulpit orator in a more insidious form than that attaching to any other human endowment.

The Catholic Girl in the World. By WHYTE AVIS. London: Burns & Oates.—This admirable little volume, introduced by a preface from the pen of the learned Jesuit, Father Clarke, is a compendium of sound practical advice to girls about to enter the world. Each short chapter contains in brief and forcible language hints for the guidance of conduct under the circumstances to which it refers. In that on home duties, for instance, it admonishes the girls of a family to contribute to the utmost of their power to the recreation of fathers or brothers who come home in the evening wearied from a day's work, putting aside if necessary their own occupations for the purpose. Counsels on self-culture, dress, domestic economy, and works of charity, are equally suited to those whose lives must run in the narrow groove of everyday interests and duties.

El Nuevo Mundo. By LOUIS JAMES BLOCK. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1893.—The discovery of the New World is the subject of this poem, dedicated to the women of America, and apparently inspired by the Columbus centenary. The author has a fine command of language and versification, enabling him to set his narrative and reflections to the music of a sonorous and complicated measure. He has divided his volume into four chapters, entitled respectively, "The Old World," "The Man," "The Deed," and "The New World"—the latter a panegyric on the writer's own country which much must seem overstrained to the native of any other.

Souvenirs d'Auberge. Par PAUL HAREL. Paris: Vic & Amat. 1894.—The various types of wayfarers forming the humbler *clientèle* of a rustic inn are here portrayed in a series of short sketches, with that grace of style of which French writers alone have the secret. The author declares in his preface that he is one of those "who prefer a country church well filled to an

empty cathedral, the labourer's smock to the frock-coat unworthily worn, and simple devotion to blatant impiety." Two short versified pieces, "*Rêve de Noel*" and "*La Croix*," inserted among the prose vignettes forming the staple of the volume, are gems of simple devotional poetry.

La Belgique sous l'Empire. Par SYLVAIN BALAU. Paris : Plon Nourrit & Cie. 1894.—These two volumes by a celebrated Belgian historian are a valuable addition to the already voluminous literature of the Napoleonic epoch. Written in a clear narrative style, and with a rare power of seizing and grouping the salient facts, they give in many respects a more vivid idea of the career of the great conqueror than any preceding work dealing with it. The history of his ecclesiastical policy, in particular, is followed out as a connected whole, and forms a striking picture of the tyranny he exercised over the consciences of those subjected to his despotic rule, from the Pope downwards. The story of his suppression of the Seminary of Ghent, and the deportation of its students to serve in a penal battalion in French fortresses, because of their refusal to accept the ministrations of the schismatic bishop imposed on them by his arbitrary will, deserves particularly to be studied by those interested in this aspect of his character. The book closes dramatically with perhaps the most lucid and fascinating account of that great epic struggle of the century, the battle of Waterloo, that has yet been penned. Among the interesting points dwelt on by the writer is the fact that at the hamlet from which its historic name is derived absolutely no fighting occurred, its fame being due to its occupation as the headquarters of the Duke of Wellington, whence was dated his first despatch announcing the victory.

The Judicial Murder of Mary E. Surratt. By DAVID MILLER DE WITT. Baltimore : John Murphy & Co. 1895.—A writer on judicial or historical questions, who wishes to convince his readers, should assume at least the appearance of coolness, impartiality, and fairness ; he should give, or profess to give, the evidence on both sides ; and he should be, if he can, or pretend to be, if he cannot, generous to his opponents. Mr. David De Witt Miller takes an exactly opposite course. He writes in an angry passion from beginning to end ; of his 259 pages, little more than one is devoted to the evidence against his client ; and he does not allow to any of those whom he attacks the excuse of a doubt, a difficulty, or the dangerous impulses of a moment of national frenzy.

It may very likely be that the execution of Mary Surratt was a judicial murder; indeed, it probably was one; but, so far as Mr. De Witt's treatise on the subject is concerned, we are left with the unpleasant impression that we have heard only one side of the question. The style in which the book is written does not render it attractive, and the constant use of the present tense is irritating and wearisome.

Trusts, Pools, and Corners, as affecting Commerce and Industry. By J. STEPHEN JEANS, M.R.I., F.S.S. Pp. viii-190. London: Methuen & Co. A.D. 1894.—This is one of that useful series of small volumes published under the title of "Social Questions of To-Day." The chief subjects dealt with are—the various artificial restraints on Commerce and Industry, Monopolies, Low Prices, Over-production, the Function of the State, and a variety of "Trusts, Pools, Futures, and Corners," and so forth.

Mr. Jeans writes as an historian, that is to say, he puts the whole case before the reader, and then leaves him to form his own opinion without pronouncing any very definite judgment himself. In his prefatory note, he says :

I am neither an apologist nor a judge. My function has been to present, as far as I could, within the limits at my disposal, the facts as to the character, operations, and development of the trust system, and this I have endeavoured to do without conscious partiality or prejudice. The system is neither wholly good nor wholly evil, and he who would strongly pronounce it to be necessarily either, is likely to err in his judgment.

The usefulness of this handy little volume is increased by an excellent Index, in addition to the ordinary Table of Contents.

La Stigmatisation, l'Extase Divine et les Miracles de Lourdes. Par le Dr. IMBERT-GOURBEYRE. Two vols. Pp. 557 and 573. Clermont: Ferrand Bellet. 1894.—Dr. Gourbeyre, who is a Professor at the Medical School at Clermont, has collected in the former of these two volumes three hundred and twenty-one cases of stigmatisation and its accompaniments, of which the most important is ecstasy; in the second volume he analyses these, and gives his reasons for maintaining their supernatural origin. The work contains much information as to the physical phenomena of the states with which it deals, and will be indeed indispensable to those who are called upon to decide on questions of mystical theology. For the general reader it is decidedly unsuited; and it is to be regretted that it was not published in Latin instead of

French. There is much of great medical interest throughout the work ; but beyond recording this, the present reviewer does not feel competent to express an opinion on a subject which "spiritualiter examinatur," and which calls for either personal experience or extensive observation of the rare supernatural favours of which Dr. Gourbeyre treats.

J. R. G.

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- Le Conclave : Origine, Histoire, Organisation Ancienne et Moderne.** Lucius Lector. Paris : P. Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 784.
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